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Why I Do Not Join the Socialist Party.

PERHAPS I was foolish when Comrade Simons, Wilshire and others urged me to join the Socialist party, and I had given some reasons against it, to promise to write these reasons out for The Socialist Review. Of course the reasons will be derided, answered and I will be jumped on. It will be fun for the partisan socialists who are cock-sure they are always right, to riddle these reasons till they are tatters, and the editor will be troubled with a multitude of replies unless he forestalls these by answering himself; this I advise. But I might, as well as any other, be the sacrificial victim to thus add to the gayety of an off political season when there is little else to denounce.

But of one thing, comrades, be convinced; this article is written in sincerity. I have never held any public office, never been a candidate for one, and do not expect to be. The few positions I have held in organizations have never had any salary or fees attached to them and have always necessitated either work or money. In writing this article, I am going directly contrary to the opinions and feelings of some people for whom I have the sincerest respect. I may be blind and misguided, but do not think me dishonest.

This article rubs the wrong way that feeling in the Socialist party which Prof. Adolf Harnack calls "the old and almost ineradicable tendency of mankind to rid itself of its freedom and responsibility in higher things and subject itself to a law," and he continues: "It is much easier, in fact, to resign oneself to any, even the sternest kind of authority, than to live in the liberty of the good." That feeling develops into partisanship in all parties.

I am not a party man. Partisanship blinds men and is almost always an evil. There is so much partisan feeling in all our political parties that, on the whole, I regard our party system as

doing more harm than good. But I do not regard parties as necessarily evil.

No party has a monopoly of partisanship but in the small parties, the extreme partisans are more apt to dominate and direct. This is true of the Prohibition party where the narrowness, bitterness and denunciation of its extreme adherents has driven away the sane, strong men who might have made it a power. While I respect the sincerity and earnestness of many of the Mid-road Populists, that movement was completely controlled by the partisanship sucked out of the People's party and where is it now—it is not even a name worth remembering, and has expired leaving nothing but an odor. The Socialist Labor party is another melancholy instance of the dominance of partisanship. It has become more and more bitter and hard, lost all of its sweetness, most of its sanity and nearly all of its real strength. In truth, it belies the principles it professes and is now nothing but a raucous voice shouting hoarsely to people who do not heed it.

The same tendency is cropping up inside the Socialist party. I hope the shown strength and sweetness of many in it may defeat this narrow partisanship and that the party as a whole will rise superior to it. But I am doubtful. There is so much hardship required in starting a new party that the workers are apt to get hard and make the party an end and not a means. When that happens they have rid themselves "of freedom and responsibility in higher things" and "subjected themselves to a law." I will not belong to a party where I may be subjected to a partisan trial and expelled as has repeatedly been done in the S. L. P., and was practically done within the last three months in the Socialist party to a most devoted and estimable lady. I will not belong to a party where I will be denounced if I do not vote the whole ticket and cast a vote for a friend whom I know will acceptably fill the office, and who stands a chance of being elected. I want my freedom. I will not tie up with a party where the party ties must be so hard and fast.

At present I hold myself loosely attached to the Democratic party, because, in my judgment, when it has been chastened some more, there is more hope of getting some progress from it than from any other party, but in all local matters I have and shall vote for any candidate I think most fit. In the last election, if I had been in New York, I would have voted for Seth Low, who was nominated by the Independents and Republicans; if in Philadelphia for the Democratic candidate; if in Nebraska for the Populist candidate; if in San Francisco for the candidate of the Labor party, and if there had been an election in Missouri I would probably have voted for the candidate of the Socialist party. You can get my vote if you will be sane, sweet,

strong, put up good men and if it looks as if I can accomplish more through you than through others. I believe this is the position of the majority of the American voters.

I was a warm friend of Edward Bellamy and a contributor to his paper, *The New Nation*. For more than a score of years I have been associate editor or contributor to many socialist papers, such as *The Coming Nation*, *The Appeal to Reason*, *The New Times*, *The Arena*, *The London Clarion*, etc., etc. I have always called myself a socialist, but actually I have recently thought of dropping that name. It looks as if in the near future the words "Socialism" and "Socialist" would suffer at the hands of the so-called Socialist party, a like degradation to that which that grand word "temperance" has suffered at the hands of the Prohibition party. The word "temperance" means temperate or moderate in all things. I know some so-called temperance people who are most intemperate in speech, in food, in drink other than alcoholic. Yet they would resent it if called intemperate. By the best usage of that word, they are. The Prohibition party has almost degraded the fine word "temperance" to mean total abstinence from alcoholic liquors.

Formerly the S. L. P. did all it could, and now many of the Socialist party are aiding them, in degrading that fine word "socialism" so that it means nothing but Marxian, revolutionary, class-conscious socialism. They print in their papers the definitions of socialism from dictionaries, encyclopedias, and acknowledged authorities, and then argue and write as if socialism was the small, semi-fanatic affair they deduce from their dead and almost unread demi-god, Karl Marx. They attract people by the sane reasonableness of the definitions they quote, and then drive them away by the violence of the definitions they assume. I am a temperance man but not a total abstainer. I am a socialist but not a Marxian, class-conscious, revolutionary socialist. Comrade Wilshire at Detroit divided all socialists into scientific and sane socialists. He claims to be a scientific socialist; I am then a sane socialist.

In the Socialist campaign book of 1900, a proletarian is defined as "a worker who does not own the tools with which he produces." By this definition Mr. Schwab, the president of the steel trust, is a proletarian save for the insignificant amount of stock he owns in that trust. He does not own the tools with which he produces. Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railway, is a proletarian in his capacity of worker. If these men as well as the farmer, farm laborer, merchant, factory director and factory hand are really proletarians, the oft-repeated assertion that the salvation of this country is to come from the proletariat is a truism which every one will accept. It then

means that progress is to come from the workers of all classes which, at least in the United States, compose the great majority of the whole people.

But in practice, the socialist rarely uses the word this way; by it, they usually mean only the manual workers. They address their arguments to these laborers.

For convenience of my argument, let us use the Anglo-Saxon words, working-class, middle-class and wealthy, and define the first as those making a yearly income of less than \$800, the second making a yearly income between \$800 and \$4,000, and the third over \$4,000. Of course no fixed amount will exactly place every one but the large majority will be correctly defined by these limits.

Most of the Socialist party speakers and writers claim that the salvation of the future is to come from the working class. Let me repeat, if they mean it is to come from the workers of all classes, I agree with them, but in that case, how in heaven's name are they to get a class-consciousness that will embrace the really influential part of the workers? Mr. Schwab, judged by the source of his income, is far more of a proletarian than a capitalist. To speak of trying to get a class-consciousness among all workers is rot. When the party socialist speaks of class-consciousness, he means the working classes as I have defined them.

If by salvation coming from the working classes, he means their assent to plans done by others, that they will be the ciphers which will multiply the force of the leaders, then I agree fully with him but say that he does not know how to use the English language. Too often the working men who are put into positions of real power where they could serve their own class, act as Mr. Madden, the third assistant postmaster-general. Mr. Madden was a workingman and his appointment was made as a sop to the workingmen, and he is more virulent in carrying out measures against their interests than a man from the middle or wealthy class would probably have been.

In my opinion the economic salvation of the country is to come from the great middle class—they will furnish the bulk of the leaders, the workers, the funds, and above all the ideals. The working-class will assent and furnish some work and less funds. A few of the wealthy will furnish considerable money and an occasional leader. But the bulk of these are to come from the middle-classes. Look over the names of the leaders and workers to-day in the Socialist party, and at least two-thirds of the more efficient come from the middle-class.

Others see this. Mr. H. M. Hyndman, in a letter published in *The Challenge*, says: "It is useless to try to disguise from ourselves that the mass of the English workers are ignorant, con-

ceited, apathetic, addicted to gambling and drink, and for the most part indifferent to their own welfare. The 'buffer' class here, which is very much larger than in any other country, the class which is educated and has no absolute and direct interest in slave-driving, has been left to the influence of the Fabians and such-like people. * * * If I give up preaching to the converted, or those who are too ignorant and too ill-educated to comprehend, I may do better work than seems at the moment possible. If I can succeed, I say, in getting even a few of the well-educated people who abound in Great Britain, to throw themselves heartily into the genuine, revolutionary Social-Democratic movement, not holding aloof as 'superior persons,' and not, on the other hand, losing their higher education by pretended acceptance of proletarian roughness, I believe a great step in advance will have been taken. There are cultured men and women who unquestionably sympathize with us and would work with us. But I am bound to admit that our methods, hitherto, have been somewhat repellant to such people."

I am sure the American workman and I think the British workman does not deserve the severe stricture that Mr. Hyndman applies, but there is great truth in the latter part of this quotation. I will speak to any audience, but the most of my speaking, writing and work goes to the middle-class, where, in my opinion, it is most needed. Because of their offensive methods, a good share of my audience would be shut off from me should I join the Socialist party. I know of a prominent lecture course that dropped out one of the ablest and sanest speakers in the U. S. because he belonged to the Socialist party and used their methods. Prof. Herron made a tremendous mistake when he took a course of action which allowed his enemies to shut the doors of the churches to his speaking, not because of what he said, but nominally on moral grounds. The place where his voice was most needed no longer hears him.

This is not the only reason which will prevent the growth of the Socialist party amongst the middle-class, where it is most needed, but it is an important one.

Again, as Mayor Jones recently wrote me: "I am coming to think that elections are not of much consequence. I do not believe there was much conscious meaning to the recent election (Fall, 1901). I realize that only a very small portion of the great mass give any serious thought to the subject, that few who do vote have any good reason for their vote; for that and other reasons, I think we ought not to consider elections too seriously whether they go our way or the other fellow's."

The salvation of the country is not to come through the growth of a new political party. Education is the thing. When

the people are educated on any line, one or the other of the political parties will carry it out. Listen to what Josiah Quincy, Gold-Democrat and a Cleveland officeholder, said before the last election to an aristocratic Democratic club in Boston. "Radicalism may become more opportunist as to its form, more moderate possibly as to its demands. But that its spirit will, in the main, continue to dominate the Democratic party, I have little doubt, and there seems to be no use fostering delusions on that score. * * * We may have to accept a larger measure of radicalism than all of us may approve. * * * The tendencies favored by the Republican party will not pass unchallenged and unopposed. The question is whether that opposition shall be carried on under the name and with the traditions of the Democratic party, under the responsible leadership which it can command, or whether the function of opposition shall be handed over to some new party with a far more extreme program, of mushroom growth and irresponsible leadership." This is one of the most significant speeches recently made.

Of course the Democratic party will not give you all you want. But they or some other party will give all the people are ready for. "Man's reach is greater than his grasp, else what's a heaven for." This world would be pitiable if there was not a group of reformers who wanted more than they will ever get. There are two classes in this world, a very small class of idealists and far-sighted watchers of their times and well-wishers of their fellows, and a very large class who do not see any further than the end of their noses. The Socialist movement has in it almost all of the first class. The second class are in the huge majority. To the idealist preaching a great sweeping message, that huge majority after the first flush of his enthusiasm has subsided, seems unconquerable and often he calls them names, as Mr. Hyndman has in the quotation given. That majority can only be won by a program of short steps, and this your idealist with his head in the clouds, scorns. The Socialist party does not give this program of short, practical steps. When the time is ripe, some other party will and it will be successful largely because of the educational work done by the Socialist party, and largely in spite of its political activity. The Socialist party does not understand politics and what a political party can do. It should stop playing at politics and become an educational institution content when political campaigns were on, to take a back seat and rely on doing its educational work all the time, or else it should drop its idealism and have a really practical platform. In my opinion, because of other reasons, the first is the course to take.

Likewise the party socialist forgets that the same develop-

ment has happened in politics as he is fond of tracing in business and everywhere else in modern life. The great change of concentration, organization and occupation of unoccupied fields which has taken place in manufacturing, commerce, exchange, transportation and all fields of our modern life within the last twenty-five years, has also taken place in politics. A young man finds it almost impossible to become an independent business man where he could easily have done it twenty-five years ago, because great businesses have grown up and filled the fields. The same is true of politics. The legitimate expenses of the 1864 campaign, according to an article in the Literary Digest, were \$200,000, and of the campaign of 1896, \$5,000,000. Where will you raise even one per cent of that amount for a reform party? It can only be done with a great and strong organization and the prestige of an old organization.

I clip two paragraphs. The Pittsburg Dispatch, speaking of the New York mayoralty campaign of 1901, says: "The campaign lasted twenty-two days. Tammany held 3,700 meetings and the Fusionists 4,000. Tammany employed 1,500 speakers and its opponents 2,500. The Tammany printing cost \$60,000; that of the Fusionists \$10,000 less. There were spent on banners, fireworks and other displays by both parties \$25,000. It cost Tammany for all expenses, \$900,000; Fusionists, \$500,000. Total Tammany speeches, 7,000; anti-Tammany, 7,100." How is the Socialist to do this? Its activity does not reach five per cent of the people reached by the old parties.

Again City and State of Philadelphia, speaking of the 1901 campaign there, says: "It is estimated that \$80,000 will be required to cover all the expenses of the campaign and a large proportion of that sum is required to watch the other side. Mr. Blankenburg says: 'This sum is insignificant compared with the resources of the opposition, who, besides a revenue of \$300,000, from a 3 per cent assessment on officeholders (which can be repeated or increased), has favored contractors, protected vice, franchise sales, and other sources of revenue for the perpetuation of their power.' The estimate of expenses is made up as follows: the headquarters in the Lafayette, clerical assistance, telegraph and telephone service and incidentals will require \$16,000. Halls and music for at least two public meetings in each of the forty-two wards will cost \$17,000. The maintenance of forty-one ward headquarters will mean an expenditure of \$11,000 and \$8,000 will cover the printing and advertising. The most important expense will be the employment of five window-book men and workers in each of the 1,047 election divisions and for that work \$28,000 is wanted."

If the Socialist party raises for its campaign fund of 1904 in

the whole United States, 1 per cent of the amount spent in Philadelphia alone in a local fight in 1901, it will be doing more than I expect. The ground is already covered. There is no room for a third party. The People's party was the last serious attempt that stood any chance of success.

It is possible in some great political cataclysm, a new party might be born which would become a factor and a great one in our political life. No such cataclysm is on us now.

I am confirmed in this view by my belief in Direct Legislation. Because of that belief, I think the people are the real makers of issues, and when any issue gets strong enough in the hearts of the people, one of the two political parties, and perhaps both, will take it up. Although Direct Legislation was in the Democratic platform in the last national campaign, they did not make a real issue of it, and the reason was that not enough people knew about it. If a larger number had known and favored it, it would have come prominently forward and perhaps the Republicans would have taken it up as they have tentatively in Massachusetts. But the way to force them to take it up is not to form a new party to enact it into law, but to educate. Thus, if we could separate the educational work of the Union Reform party in Ohio, which has nothing but Direct Legislation in its platform, from its political activity, we would find that its educational activity advanced D. L., but its strictly political activity retarded it. I think the same is true of socialism and the Socialist party. Its educational work advances socialism; its political activity retards it.

The Socialists are fond of referring to Germany and other countries; possibly if Mr. Simons will allow me, I will show the radical difference between the two countries and the parties in the two countries. In this difference lies the reason for the growth of the German Socialist party and the lack of opportunity for the growth of the American Socialist party. But I have already exceeded the limits I set for myself.

Eltweed Pomeroy, M. A.

Reply to Mr. Pomeroy.

PERHAPS the most noticeable characteristic of Mr. Pomeroy's article is the phrase worship which pervades it as indicated by the frequent use of the outgrown catch words which have served for a generation or more to help stifle independent thinking. This is especially evident in the quotation from Prof. Harnack upon which he lays so much emphasis. "The tendency of mankind to rid itself of freedom and responsibility . . . and subject itself to law" is but a very incorrect and misleading way of saying that in modern times man has found that his ends can be more easily and pleasantly accomplished by co-operating with his fellows than by working alone. In this co-operation he really assumes a much greater responsibility and enjoys a much greater freedom than when he seeks to work in individualistic slavery.

In the same way the criticism of partisanship is nothing more than a repetition of the catch phrases of individualism which have done valiant duty in the copy books of the last three generations and are now certainly entitled to a brief vacation. Joining an organization is simply one way of accomplishing an object. Working alone is simply another, and in these latter days generally a much less effective, way of trying to do the same thing. Such unorganized effort means enslavement for years to a task whose achievement is only possible through organized effort. The illustrations which he offers of the Prohibitionist, to label itself "reform." When either of these stages has been general approbation of any sort of movement that may happen of pernicious and much more ridiculous, a sort of idiotic smile of tion to whatever anyone else is doing, or else, what is equally This latter position soon degenerates into a purely negative relation, in opposition to a non-partisanship, which means simply a well-meaning but useless defense of "good" things in general. with a definite organization to secure the success of those principles, more nor less than the championship of some definite principles, partisanship is necessarily bad. But partisanship means nothing never seems to think it necessary to offer any reasons why proceeding to "damn by label" whatever displeases him. He to be associated with opprobrium in the public mind and then worn argumentative trick of selecting a word which has come to their "partisanship." Mr. Pomeroy adopts the old and out-did not represent vital social classes and economic forces, and not because their failure is directly traceable to the fact that they Populist and Socialist Labor Party are entirely beside the point,

reached the "non-partisan" is of no earthly use to anyone save to those who need obstructions to place in the way of the alteration of existing institutions. A perusal of Mr. Pomeroy's article, together with the writings of the other apostles of "non-partisanship" will satisfy anyone that such a position could easily, if it has not already done so, become as "narrow, intolerant, bigoted, etc.," as that of any party defender.

But a further perusal shows us that Mr. Pomeroy is not so much opposed to "parties" as to "small parties." The implication which he leaves is that there is more of "freedom and responsibility in higher things" in the Republican and Democratic party. Shades of Tammany, Croker, Quay, Platt, and Hanna, it would have seemed that a sense of humor, if no other sense were present, would have prevented such a ridiculous position from one who pretends to be a student of social and political conditions. Mr. Pomeroy will not belong to a party from which he can be expelled if he votes and works for another and antagonistic party, but will "hold himself loosely attached to the Democratic party," that breaks and ruins men at the turn of a boss's hand, and that accords to the rank and file the same share in determining party policies that the Czar of Russia does to his subjects in the making of laws—in each case nothing but the probability of a revolution produces any effect. It is only the "narrow autocratic" Socialist party that permits its affairs to be managed by the initiative and referendum, of which Mr. Pomeroy claims to be so fond in theory. It would appear that his admiration of direct legislation was considerably less than his partisan admiration for the old capitalistic parties, or of his particular form of partisanship, which he labels "non-partisanship."

The Socialist party, while infinitely less autocratic than the Democratic and Republican parties, finds it necessary to insist that only those who are working for it shall be admitted to membership. I can scarcely think that, confused as Mr. Pomeroy seems to be as to questions of politics, if he were organizing a body of men to lift a weight, he would invite the co-operation of any broad-minded individuals who maintained that the proper way to lift was to sit on the weight and claw at the edges. Just so the Socialists do not care for the co-operation of those who would remain within capitalism and seek to melt off rough edges by the warmth of their brotherly love.

But Mr. Pomeroy seems to think that it would be well for Socialists to work with the Democratic party, with its bosses, its utter lack of policy, its conflicting class interests, its 18th century Jeffersonian (or rather Rousseauist) individualistic philosophy. Blind to the fact that the Democratic party is being torn to pieces by the contending factions, who are expelling men at

a rate that throws DeLeon's efforts in that line into oblivion; unable to recognize that since it represents a decaying class it can have no further vital social function, he asks those who believe in the abolition of wage slavery to unite with a party whose only bond of unity is the perpetuation of that slavery.

He has always been a Socialist, he says, and in proof of this cites his connection with a series of periodicals, not one of whom, during the time at least of his connection was in accord with the great international Socialist movement, and most of which have no earthly right to the name of Socialist. It is as if a student of to-day should offer as proof of his right to be considered a biologist that he had read Linnaeus, Cuvier and Agassiz, but was proud to say that he knew nothing of evolution or had ever read any of the works of that "demi-god," Charles Darwin.

As to the "degradation of that fine word Socialism," had it not been for the efforts of the Socialist party, it is probable that it would have been degraded into the catch-phrase of a narrow, meaningless middle class reform movement. From this worst of fates the Socialist party has rescued this word to make it once more the proud title of a world-wide revolt and an onward social movement of the toiling producing masses of the earth, toward a grander, greater freedom for the race than this old world has ever known before. It would rescue this grand old word from the putrid clasp of a rotting social class to make it the rallying cry of the only vital social class of to-day and the predestined social rulers of to-morrow.

The definition of classes taken from the Socialist Campaign book is the only one ever held by Socialists. In his discussion of this phase he simply imputes his own confusion to the Socialists and then asks them to defend his logic. We respectfully decline the task. He says that, taking the Campaign Book definition of classes, the "assertion that the salvation of this country is to come from the proletariat is a truism." If so, it is a truism whose significance Mr. Pomeroy still fails utterly to grasp, for he at once begins to talk about the "leaders and workers" of the Socialist party who have come from the middle class. As a matter of fact, he would be hard put to it to name a half-dozen Socialists in America, who have attained any prominence as workers, who derive their sustenance from ownership of capital.

Out of this confusion he tumbles into still greater intellectual darkness by a meaningless classification of society according to size of income, and then at once proceeds to discuss the functional position of the classes thus formed. The only intelligent, logical and useful classification of social classes is according to social function as is made by the Socialists. In this way all that he says about the "middle class" becomes meaningless because

of the ridiculous classification upon which it is based, and also because the whole argument rests upon a series of personal opinions and assertions, without the slightest effort at offering evidence.

In view of this fact all that Comrade Hyndman says militates against Mr. Pomeroy's argument. It is the "educated proletariat" of whom Comrade Hyndman is talking and not the little property holders, who really make up the "middle class" in any intelligent use of the word. That the socialists are not shut off from this educated proletariat is seen by the fact that the ablest writers and students of Europe are enrolled among the Socialist speakers and writers. The only place from which a Socialist speaker is shut out by virtue of his Socialism is from the bigoted, half-starved little property holders who are hoping some day to climb into the class of big labor skimmers and who therefore seek to toady to them to-day.

I agree with Mr. Pomeroy that elections are of little importance when conducted according to his or Mr. Jones' ideas. Socialists have been pointing out for years that elections are only significant when they reflect class interests. Struggles between factions of a ruling class resulting in a mere change of masters' names from Republican to Democratic, Citizens or Independents, cannot have any far-reaching effect.

His talk of the "responsible leadership" of the present Democratic party contains a humor (even though it be unconscious) that is worthy of Mr. Dooley. Who has that leadership to-day—Crocker, Gorman, Cleveland, Hill, Bryan, Altgeld or Tillman? It looks to me as if there was considerable "divided responsibility."

After this intelligent discussion of the present political situation I am willing to admit that the "Socialist party does not understand politics," not that kind at least. With Mr. Pomeroy politics seems to be a question of campaign expenses. If he really believes this why not "move to make it unanimous" by withdrawing the Democratic party in favor of the larger campaign fund of the Republicans. By the way, perhaps it is this line of argument that has caused the Democratic party to quite frequently withdraw in favor of the Republicans in these last few years, whenever the Socialists have become threatening in size.

All through this there is not one word of evidence to show that the Democratic party is not the champion of capitalism, not one syllable of proof that its great campaign fund does not depend upon its close adherence to the capitalist class, not one sign of having ever comprehended the alphabet of socialist philosophy,—the class struggle upon the base of economic determinism. He dare not attempt to overthrow this position, which,

since its statement by the classic writers of Socialism, has revolutionized the historical and economic writings of even their opponents, and so he quietly ignores it. But like Banquo's ghost it "will not down," and Mr. Pomeroy's attempt to ignore it will have about the same effect upon socialist philosophy that President Hadley's "social ostracism" has had upon the trusts. Here is the point which no "Bellamy Socialist" dare discuss. He can sneer, and whine, and abuse, make fun of phrases he either does not understand or fears to grapple with, but he will never attempt to prove that the capitalist class is not now in power, that they are not acting in a class-conscious manner to preserve their domination, and that the workers can only meet this by a correspondingly class-conscious movement. Meet and discuss and overthrow these propositions, Mr. Pomeroy, and you will have said something to the point, and will have done something that the ablest minds of capitalism have never been able to do. Until you do this you are not criticizing the position of the Socialist party.

If this philosophy is true, and it has stood the hostile criticism of a half century and over, then the question of whether there is room for another party depends wholly upon whether there is a class in our present society, powerful enough to maintain such a party, and whose interests are not represented by any existing party. The Socialists point out that such a social class exists in the laborers, by which they mean all those who work either with hand or with brain, but whose existence is dependent upon the sale of their labor power and skill to the owners of the means of production and distribution. The Socialist calls attention to the fact that the class of workers have become, not only the largest class numerically, but also the only essential social factor. Under these circumstances he is quite certain, not only that there is plenty of room for a new party, but that there is neither room nor reason for any party which, like the Democratic party, represents a useless and disappearing social class. He has seen a number of other countries verify this position. He is seeing the same evolution taking place in this country and he has no fear of the great campaign funds of the capitalist parties. He knows the origin of those funds and he knows they will no longer exist when the "goods" can no longer be delivered to those who pay them, that is, when the workers refuse to be fooled into their own slavery. Under these circumstances there is but one place for anyone who really comprehends the course of economic evolution and the function of the working class. When Mr. Pomeroy does comprehend this, when, in short, he becomes a Socialist, he will join the Socialist party, and until then I am sure no one would ask him to become a member.

A. M. Simons,

Universal Suffrage in Belgium.

NOW slow is justice in coming to the disinherited classes! It will soon be 110 years since the National Assembly decreed on the morning after the victorious insurrection of August 10, 1792, "in order to insure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality," that the National Convention should be elected by all Frenchmen 21 years of age, residing in the same place for one year and living from the product of their labor.

Since then, all the constitutions of Europe, wrung from the old powers by revolutions or the fear of revolution, have more or less admitted the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Particularly in Belgium, after the triumph of the revolution of 1830, the national congress voted unanimously in favor of article 25 of the constitution: "All powers emanate from the people."

But the people, that meant for sixty years the 135,000 voters who paid a personal tax of 20 florins. The campaign for universal suffrage, the end of which we are just now perceiving, was not begun until 1866, when a handful of democrats, proletarians and bourgeois launched the "Laborers' Manifesto." For thirty-six years, then, the question of universal suffrage has been debated in Belgium.

Everything has changed in our country. The Goetterdaemmerung of the once almighty liberalism has begun long ago. Official clericalism has fortified itself with all the terrors of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the growing de-christianization of the masses. Socialism has spread and covered the whole industrial region with the solid frame of its organization. But in spite of all these transformations and of the incomplete revision of 1893, the question of universal suffrage is still pending and awaits its final solution.

However, everything indicates that this solution for which we have so patiently worked and which we have so impatiently awaited, will not be delayed much longer. A few weeks ago the government, threatened by a systematical obstruction against its budget, reluctantly agreed to put our proposition, demanding universal suffrage in communal and provincial elections, on the program of the Chamber immediately after the Christmas vacation. Once a discussion is started on the absurdities of the plural vote, and the battle is half won. For who can defend, with the least hope of hoodwinking public opinion, an electoral system which is a veritable museum of horrors, a ridiculous collection of all the tricks which the bourgeoisie of all countries has

ever invented to retard the coming of the sovereignty of the people?

By virtue of article 47 of the constitution, all Belgians 25 years of age are electors for the Chamber, but proprietors, fathers of a family paying a direct tax of 5 francs, and professional dignitaries have two or three votes. So that 915,000 electors with only one vote each are necessarily voted down by 557,000 electors who cast 1,353,000 votes. In communal elections, the situation is still worse. Electors must be thirty years of age, and members of a community cannot vote unless they have resided in it three years. For the senate, provincial councils, members of the board of arbitration, of instruction, and of labor councils, the electoral conditions are again different. In short, the hapless man who wishes to study our election laws finds himself in the presence of five or six different electoral bodies, who elect their candidates by proportional vote in legislative elections, by semi-proportional vote in communal elections, and by majority vote in all other elections. Add to this the numerous subdivisions of former systems—a qualification for eligibility to the senate, a differentiated qualification for the double vote of fathers of a family in communal matters, and election by two classes in provincial electors—and you will understand how it came to pass that our ruler, Leopold II., was suddenly interrupted by a burst of homeric laughter when he attempted to explain the leading principle of our electoral organization to his good friends of the *Figaro*. But the grotesque character of this system must not lead us to forget the iniquity which imposes the will of an artificially inflated minority on the actual majority of the country.

Nevertheless, this system might have lasted for some time to come, thanks to the connivance of the liberal bourgeoisie, had not the complicated plural vote which makes it almost impossible to test the qualifications of the electors, engendered innumerable frauds, especially in rural communities. Nothing is easier for the clerical administrations that get up the lists of voters than to add a few names to the side of their friends and drop a few from that of their enemies.

Everybody in Belgium now begins to see that there is no longer any relation between the electoral majority and the actual majority of the country, and that all the propaganda efforts of the opposition are neutralized, and worse, by the fabrication of fictitious voters for the benefit of the government. This is one of the reasons which explains the favorable stand of many liberals toward universal suffrage, and it gives hope for such an outburst of public opinion as that which three years ago swept away the administration of Mr. Van den Peereboom.

The Parti Ouvrier has been engaged in active campaign for a

long while. Numerous meetings are held every Sunday. Every fortnight the socialist representatives leave their districts where they carry on a continual propaganda, and meet in a previously determined locality where they organize simultaneously thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty, meetings.

But recently the other parties of the opposition—liberals and christian democrats—have also donned their armor. The parliamentary group in favor of universal suffrage, comprising all the socialist representatives and 25 out of 33 liberals, have created a "Universal Suffrage Fund" for the purpose of intensifying their propaganda by speech and press. Over ten thousand francs were subscribed in the Chamber and Senate alone. In a few days the public subscription lists will be opened, and from now on the promises of support will come fast and thick.

In short, we may hope that next spring, when the Left will demand a revision of the constitution, the effort of the Parti Ouvrier to wrest from the government the dissolution of the Chamber and the introduction of universal suffrage will meet the sincere support of many members of the liberal bourgeoisie.

However that may be, the socialist proletariat counts above all on itself. Without underestimating the difficulties to be overcome and the obstinate resistance to be broken, we have the firm conviction that, being more numerous, better organized, and less isolated than in 1893, we shall soon be able to fight the decisive battle and place another victory to the credit of international socialism.

Emile Vandervelde.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

The Individual's Struggle for a Substitute.

THE sharpest line of difference between the philosophy of collectivism and individualism is to be found in the estimated sufficiency of the personal interest or happiness only, for the purposes of organized public life and everybody else's interest.

If the pursuit of the personal interest only be adequate in the end (as the advocates of ramrod individualism claim) to the best interests of all, then unquestionably the laissez faire doctrine of anarch commercialism is the true doctrine of the world, tempered with the knife of the anarchist, the sandbag of the highwayman and the injunction of the property judge which keep the too zealous self of others in their places, with respect to my self; let the world of unregulated egos go on trampling each other down until everybody is happy and well off.

On the other hand I, a collectivist, contend that until the individualist can prove that the majority of mankind are happier, and are having their interests better served while being trampled under foot by the fittest, the case is not settled in favor of the sufficiency of the separate personal consideration only, for all the purposes of public welfare. As yet the collectivist has only reason, a very inadequate experience and a general indictment of failure to urge against the sufficiency of king self for all public purposes. Individualistic laissez fairists do not claim that the scramble of egos brings about the best public results for everybody because that is what they scramble for. On the contrary they claim that the resultant best-of-all-possible societies has nothing whatsoever to do with the definite or deliberate intentions of the scramblers; that it comes of itself in spite of non-intention; nay, a little step farther, by means of inattention to others and an exclusive attention to self, the best interests of the other fellow is finally conserved. The people who hold this doctrine sit upon the thrones of the world and are executing the anarchists of the world for carrying out their common faith in the eternal right of the individual to do as he likes until he is knocked down.

There is, in my opinion, to-day a lamentable confusion among socialists upon this vital question of the sufficiency of the personal. Coming as most of us do out of a reaction from the hypocritical self-denials of old theology, we started out into free thought with a sweeping affirmation to-the-contrary of the self-abnegationists of the churches who did not abnegate; and thus we find ourselves in socialism with a mere anti-theologic protest

instead of an affirmative for our philosophy. It was all right in the early 19th or latter 18th century to say to the priest, "This self of mine upon whose alleged depravity and mortification you have become holy by contrast and fat by the fees of repentance, is not vile, it is clean and good; I will therefore no longer neglect it but I will cherish it." To that point the protest was sound. But when it went farther than the occasion called for, as protests have a habit of doing, it said, "Not only is this self of mine right, but it is all right. Not only is this self of mine all right but it is all the right, and there is no other way of getting to the best society, or getting to heaven itself, only by looking entirely after myself; contrary to the religion imposed upon my childhood by you, commanding me to neglect or punish myself that others might be better off, and that I might get to heaven."

The personal pursuit of everybody of his own happiness alone, the deification of one's own inwardness, the sanctification of self all round, was the opposition doctrine to the church. And with that merely negative philosophy we have been trying to do most of the work of socialism. We have canted as much Jefferson's inalienable right of everybody to pursuit of happiness, as ever the church canted about the sinfulness and vanity of pursuing pleasure.

If the sufficiency of selfism be accepted by socialists it is better not to interfere with its sufficiency in other men's lives. The capitalist, whose own philosophy this is, has some good dollar reasons for interfering with the selfism of the working man, but why should any working man diminish his earning capacity by preaching the future welfare of others without a salary? Why should I preach socialism without being paid for it! Why should I preach it for ten dollars, if I can get twenty, or even eleven, for preaching capitalism. Why should some of us be engaged in the propaganda of a better society which we may never live to see?

Socialists are handicapped, I believe, and can make no progress in the world as agitators while they carry this inconsistency. They are assailing capitalism while themselves lying down in the self-same old mud of selfishness. They take higher ground in their pleading while standing on the very principle that justifies capitalism in all its crimes,—a principle which at the same time gives little countenance to their own plea for fewer hours, less work, better wages, or for any other good which they want and cannot take.

Certainly selfism cannot be the philosophy of two opposites, it cannot be the philosophy of the master and the slave, it cannot be the philosophy of capital and of labor at the same time in the same contest and yet serve both of them. Collectivism, being the philosophy of all, must find some substitute for self, and it must

not be the theologian's substitute of a soul for a body, or of a hereafter for a here; it must be a substantial substitute here and now.

I take the position that the so-called struggle for self-existence which some evolutionists have transferred to organized human society from the animal world and misinterpreted; and with which, in these early days of collectivist philosophy, so many socialists are identified, is a falsehood. I believe the naturalists can more easily find the struggle throughout nature to be of another character. All living creatures are giving their greatest struggle to the finding of a substitute for themselves—another selfhood.

This phrase, "the struggle for a substitute," covers the whole sex struggle of the animal world which really constitutes the most energetic and exhausting activities of all creatures. The mere struggle for self-existence does not cover the sacrifices of the present-self-interest which is taking place throughout all creation for the other self-interest of offspring. In fact, it is so much in evidence everywhere that I venture to assert on the strong testimony of its constant activity that there is an instinct everywhere in operation among all creatures, including mankind, an instinct as strong or stronger than self-preservation, and that this instinct may be rightly named the struggle for a substitute. It is an altruism but not the old altruism of conscious and deliberate self-denial in deference to the interests and welfare of some other; but it is an altruism which seeks some other larger life, in which to invest my own. The altruism of a parasitic plant, if you will, which seeks the great tree, the altruism which seeks to externalize itself in some other. The altruism of all self-consciousness which manifests the development towards manhood and womanhood by its flush of deference to others; that consciousness of self which immediately, from the moment of its birth, seeks a substitute for itself in some other; that consciousness which is always progressive and enlarging in its search for an external, which seeks a family, a clan, a tribe, a nation; and which in this age of economic struggle properly and in due historic order seeks its own class on its way to finally making all mankind its family, its clan, its tribe, its nation, its self. Selfism, as the moralists of commercialism and the competitive private life understand, should have been dead and gone out of the world with the primitive races. This profit-mongering age has retained it too long from among the bones of the savage dead, without a blush, for there is money in it. As a motor for profit it may be all right, as a motor for the creation of aristocracies it has proved effective; but as a motor for civilization it is about as suitable as an old wheelbarrow might be beside a modern locomotive for the purposes of a

modern railroad. It is, in fact, as far apart as civilization is from private profiting. Yet doubtless this unselfishness was the embryonic form of the various larger external consciousnesses through which the self has been passing ever since. When a man was purely and simply a self-supporting creature in the midst of strange and hostile animals, it was the law of his preservation; but when he joined his fellow-creatures in a family or tribe that sort of selfism was defunct and should have passed out consciously to the associate man. Selfishness did put on clannishness and tribeishness, and tribeishness became nationalism, and nationalism becomes the class consciousness of socialism.

We need not apologize for this selfishness at the beginning of the race, for it has justified itself by our physical survival, but its survival of a doctrine among us still, as the law we teach of social dynamics needs more apology than the human brain can ever supply.

If we take the practices of war to which the self-life was obliged to resort in savage days, in order to keep its flesh out of the stomach of a brother cannibal, or to get his other brother inside of him, and turn them both over to a nation or a tribe, we find that, what is odious among friends for one to do, is lawful and right for an organized multitude to do to another enemy organized for murderous reciprocity. The selfishness of one becomes the virtue of the larger social unit, when opposed by an armed counterpart.

When a comrade socialist says that ego's search for its own pleasurable sensations is the activity which ultimately binds society in one, he mistakes the ego sensation hunting of the private debauchee, and the ego property hunting of the private gambler for their multiple by which they are modified as the pleasure and need of a class. Having this distinction clearly in view we may use the selfishness terms of the individualist with propriety and reason. One man should not deprive another; but a nation may deprive any one man. One man is capable of robbing another one; but a nation cannot rob one of its men. In general terms it may, I think, be said that the immorality of one person may be the morality of many in one class. My self-preservation at all costs cannot be conceded to the single person; but it must be conceded to the nation, or class, containing him. Wrong becomes right when it is turned over from the personal to the public life. There are no moral problems for the single life when it has found its true external substitute, when it has found its nation or its class.

Peter E. Burrowes.

An Experiment in the Making of History.*

THAT self-centered poseur, Mr. Herbert N. Casson, has in his time played many parts. That they have not been particularly well played is his misfortune. That he does not learn from experience and refrain from essaying new parts, is perhaps also a misfortune for which he deserves our pity.

His latest effusion bears the pretentious and wholly unwarrantable sub-title, "A History and Defense of the American Labor Movement," and is dedicated to the American Federation of Labor, which he inaccurately describes as "the strongest non-military organization in the world." Evidently he means "largest" rather than "strongest," for he surely cannot so soon have forgotten how a small handful of men organized into a trust proved superior to it in strength only a few short months ago! That, however, does not much matter, since it is equally wrong to call it "the largest non-military organization in the world," as every school-boy knows.

By what strange mental process Mr. Casson concludes that his book should be called a "history," it is not easy to discover. It lacks all the qualities of history, apart altogether from the many inaccuracies with which it abounds. Garrulous reflections without any logical connection, even when interspersed with haphazard quotations and dates, do not make a history. Mr. Casson's book is no more a history of the American Labor Movement than the disordered reminiscences of a mind in the last stage of senility—which it much resembles—would be. One has only to compare it with "The History of Trade Unionism in England," by Sydney and Beatrice Webb, to see the absurdity of calling it a "History" at all. Mr. Casson himself lacks every qualification that may be regarded as being essential to the historian. On page 205 he writes: "Every young visionary or minister-out-of-a-job who has read two or three Socialist pamphlets, and knows nothing at all of the history and development of the Labor Movement, invariably 'offers his services' to the trade unions," and those who know Mr. Casson will feel, that, all unconsciously, he has fallen into autobiography, and in a vain attempt at "smart" writing, revealed his own unfitness for the task he has essayed, and if they have any interest at all in the well-being of the trade unions, those who know Mr. Casson will scarcely congratulate them upon having accepted his "services."

*Organized Self-Help. A history and defense of the American labor movement, by Herbert N. Casson, New York.

Far be it from me to cavil at any man who defends the Labor Movement from the aspersive attacks of capitalists and their hirelings of the press. I cordially agree with Mr. Casson that trade unionism has done much to promote Social Reform, Morality and Education. It may be argued with a good deal of reason that there is no longer any necessity for such a defense, and that the work has already been better done than by Mr. Casson. Little harm, at any rate, however, can come from constant repetition of wholesome truths. But rational defense of trade unionism is one thing; apology for its manifest defects and shortcomings is quite another thing. When a writer becomes the apologist of those defects and shortcomings and sneers at those who are trying to remove them in order that the unions may be fitted to meet the new conditions of industry, with which they are not now competent to cope, he is doing the Labor Movement a great dis-service; he is no longer a help but a hindrance, giving power and encouragement to the reactionary forces and hindering true growth and progress. This is the principal feature of Mr. Casson's book, a better title for which would be "The Apologia of reaction in the Labor Movement."

Although he recognizes in the opening paragraphs of the first chapter that organized labor and organized capital are engaged in a "fight to the finish," that "it is not a private scrap (Mr. Casson is not the only writer who mistakes slang for "smart" writing), but an industrial Civil War," our author intimates in his introduction, that his book is intended to stop the fight and get the combatants to shake hands. In time of labor troubles "Such an atmosphere of passion is created, that arbitration and cool judgment become impossible, because no middle ground of agreement can be discovered."

The aim of the author is "to prevent such deadlocks by removing the prejudices which stand in the way of arbitration, and by presenting in general terms the workers' side of the question." He hopes that by proving that trade unions have "promoted industrial peace (sic) prosperity, education, and morality he will bring "the outside public and more especially the directors of corporations . . . to a more tolerant and reasonable frame of mind." Thus he is like all the utopists from Proudhon to Bishop Potter, except in this only: they do not expose themselves to ridicule by such glaring contradictions. If it were more skillfully done and the method were less slipshod, one would feel that Mr. Casson was playing with his readers, since he so often contradicts on one page what he asserts upon some other. Thus, on page 34, dealing with remedies for the unemployed problem proposed by various Social Reformers, which he designates "petty and ludicrous," he says: "Some demand prevention of immigra-

tion, not recognizing that the causes of unemployment are domestic, not foreign." Yet, on page 156, he enters upon a defense of that very "petty and ludicrous" proposal and the "thoughtful labor leader" who is "opposed to having indigestible lumps of foreigners in this country." On page 28 he quotes with approval the distich "whether you work by the piece or the day, Your standard of living determines your pay," which, so far as it goes, is a fairly acceptable statement of the "iron law of wages" which he sneers at on page 88. He ascribes that "iron law of wages" to Lassalle and Marx rather than to Ricardo, to whom it should be credited in a "history." There are many other equally glaring contradictions, but these must suffice.

Of course, Mr. Casson has a theory of wages of his own—brand new from the innermost recesses of his own mystical mind. "The real law of wages," he assures us, "depends on the grade of the workers themselves. Workers get as much of their product as their combined, organized intelligence and courage deserve" (page 89). This is delightfully obscure and one expects to find Mr. Casson some day in his true role as a Christian Scientist. It will be observed that it is not the money wage, but the portion of their total product which thus depends upon the intelligence and virtue of the workers, yet our author himself says (page 87) that they got six per cent less of their product in 1890 than in 1850, and again (page 118) "wages relatively never were so low as in America to-day." These two statements form a strange commentary upon Mr. Casson's panegyric on the influence of trade unions in raising wages. If his "real law of wages" means anything, it is that the "combined organized intelligence and courage" of the workers to-day do not "deserve" so much as the workers of fifty years ago! Truly Mr. Casson's "services" render the cause of trade unionism small assistance!

It is readily apparent that the author of this new "law of wages" attaches far too much importance to the increase of the nominal wages of the worker. He is forever glorifying trade unionism because of it, in spite of the admitted fact that, to quote his own words again, "Wages relatively never were so low." According to Carroll D. Wright, wages have risen during the past five years about seven per cent, but as a set off against that we have the authority of Dun's Review for saying that the cost of the bare necessities of life has increased 39 per cent in about the same time—from July 1st, 1897, to Dec. 1st, 1901. Verily, Ricardo was right when he declared that the increased money wages of the worker does not enable him to live any better, but simply to pay more for the same necessities of life.

In the same way, Mr. Casson lands himself into an embroglio, in dealing with the shortening of the hours of labor. On pages

26-29, for example, he gives a terrible, though by no means over-drawn, picture of the evils wrought by the fierce strain of long hours, and the piece-work system in the New England States when piece-work and longer hours than are now usual prevailed. With a burst of enthusiasm, he refers to the general reduction of the hours of labor as a "great triumph" and then only a few pages further on, he asserts that improved machinery has given "an intensity and strenuousness to industry which has never before been known in the history of the world." But it does not occur to him to set that fact—of the increased strain—against the reduction of the number of hours worked.

The present writer recalls in this connection, a report published some three years ago, by Dr. Samuel Abbot, of the State Board of Health for Massachusetts, containing a careful analysis of the vital statistics of that State for forty years. Those forty years, 1856-1895, cover the period of the greatest intensification of industry, and it is interesting to notice as having an important bearing upon Mr. Casson's ravings, that, in spite of the undoubted advance in Medical Science and skill, and of the improvement in Sanitation—as evidenced in the decline of the number of deaths from typhoid, for instance, which was 92.9 per 100,000 of the population in 1856-65 and only 36.4 in 1886-95—the general death rate increased; the increase being in large part due to the increased strain incident to modern industry—and that in spite of reduced hours! The increase was most marked in persons over forty years of age, bearing plain witness to premature exhaustion of the vital forces.

On the other hand there was a decrease in the birth rate, and the native born population of the State is not self-sustaining. These figures do not on the one hand bear out Mr. Casson's ravings, neither are they, on the other, an argument against shorter hours. It is well, however, to remind our trade union friends that there is little or no real advantage to be derived from working two hours a day less, if they are to be compelled to work harder and faster so as to accomplish as much as, or more than, they did before.

The fact is, there is no escape from the evils of this industrial life, except through the Socialization of industry. That is the lesson the trade unions have to learn. But Mr. Casson has only sneers for the Socialist. It is enough to remember his own pretense at being a Socialist to explain this attitude, for who can sneer like the apostate except the degenerate apostate? It is to the latter class that Mr. Casson properly belongs. On page 23, he gleefully says, that, since 1886, the unions have not been inclined to favor schemes for social reorganization, such as Fourierism (!) and Socialism, schemes that end in politics and disrup-

tion. They are more "practical" now, and keep "clear of political traps and idealistic propaganda." He sneers at the "well meaning but short-sighted enthusiast" who proposes to "transform the whole Labor Movement into a Socialist political party."

From this supercilious attitude to lying is an easy transition. On page 204 he says "the most bitter and scurrilous enemies that organized labor has are the revolutionary Marxian Socialists, who have for years been pouring out a torrent of abuse upon what they call the 'pure and simple trade unions' because the latter refused to listen to their hare-brained schemes." That this is low-down lying, Mr. Casson knows full well. A few men in that moribund organization, the S. L. P., have so acted, but in this respect, at any rate, they are anti-Marxists. The Marxist-Socialists certainly have not done so. In any one of the cities where Socialism has an organized strength, it will be easy to find dozens of men in the organization who have done incomparably more for trade unionism, than this incompetent hack who lies with such profligacy. On the following page (205) he regretfully admits, that, in many States the unions have supported the Socialists again and again. They have been deceived into little vest-pocket "Labor Parties" or "Socialist Parties," organized by a handful of well-meaning theorists or self-interested schemers." The bias, the animus, which these outbursts betoken are but further evidences of the author's incapacity to write the history of any movement.

The book has not even the saving grace of being well written. Louis De Rougemont was clever and plausible, but Mr. Casson is neither. On page 149, for instance, he refers to Peter Cooper, General Weaver and Ben Butler as "three men of whom America has reason to point to with pride." This is English as she is wrote by the "historian" who thinks he is the bete noir of the mystics while in very truth he is more mystical than the most mystical of them all.

As against his venomous malignancy towards the socialists, one notices the fulsome flattery of a Broadway manufacturer "who has been noble enough" to write a book in defense of trade unionism (we suspect the author of that very ingenious advertisement "Bugle Calls" is referred to), and of John Burns the English trade unionist, who is described as "that masterly tribune of the people." Somehow Mr. Casson seems to have forgotten, if perchance he ever knew, that when that callous official murderer, Sir H. S. Asquith, telegraphed to the troops at Featherstone in Yorkshire, "Don't hesitate to shoot," and they obeyed his frenzied message, the people cursed the dastardly deed by the blood of those martyred miners. But it was John Burns who defended it in the House of Commons as a reference to "Han-

sard" will show. And recently, when there was a proposal before the London County Council to pay the employes a minimum wage of about seven dollars per week (little enough in all conscience!) it was that same John Burns who opposed it. But Burns, like Mr. Casson, is a renegade, and that outweighs every other consideration.

Really, there is little pleasure in pursuing further our unfortunate critikin-author's vagaries, but a sense of duty demands that attention be called to one other notable example of philosophical history à la Casson. On page 125, he says, "I rejoice to see Europe undersold and outrivaled by America, because the workers of this country represent skill as against muscle, and because there is a fraction more of liberty and justice and equal right on this side of the Atlantic." The diction of this, is not, perhaps, all that it might be, but the sentiment—who could complain of that? On page 189 the difference between the "liberty and justice and equal rights," is no longer a mere 'fraction.' "In Europe, Asia and Africa human equality is a theory, a poem, a dream. In the United States, it is at least a half-accomplished fact. Never in any country, at any time, was it as near accomplishment as it is here and now." Does the reader recognize the America of 1902 in this rhapsody? We turn back to page 21 and we find this picture, "The 5,000,000 wage workers in the large factory cities of America, have absolutely nothing to depend on but their weekly wages. Their Saturday pay envelope is to them what land is to the farmer. It is their life . . . and whether the pay envelope contains much or little it is uncertain. At any time it may be stopped . . . without any guarantee of steady employment, without political influence, without a cent of income from rents, profits or interest, without any home except the one which is hired by the month from the landlord, or without any prospect of an old age pension"—this strongly resembles a description of the British wage-worker by Mr. Frederic Harrison at the Industrial Remuneration Conference held in London about ten years ago. Mr. Casson notwithstanding, there does not seem to be even a "fractional" difference! Again, on page 15, we are told, "The days of 'free contract' between the individual worker and his employer are gone. To-day workers are hired and fired by the hundred and often by the thousand. They have no chance to even enter their employers' office. In most cases they work for an anonymous corporation and are treated by the company as so much raw material and numbered like trucks and drays." And this, forsooth, is human equality half-realized! May the gods preserve us from the other half?

Taking the two pictures our author has given us, it is not easy

to see where the ampler liberty comes in. On the contrary they remind us of Shelley's lines, describing, not liberty, but Slavery.

" 'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day.
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants use to dwell.

" 'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie,
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

" 'Tis to let the ghost of gold
Take from toil a thousandfold
More than e'er its substance could
In the tyrannies of old.

"And at length when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew
Ride over your wives and you—
Blood is on the grass like dew.

"Birds find rest in narrow nest,
When weary of their wing'd quest.
Beasts find fare in woody lair,
When storm and snow are in the air.

"Asses, swine, have litter spread
And with fitting food are fed.
All things have a home but one—
Thou, O Englishman (workingman) has none."

An ancient poet has sung of the primitive geographers, who

On Afric's maps
With savage pictures filled the gaps
And o'er uninhabitable downs
Strewed elephants for want of towns."

Mr. Casson seems to have proceeded upon much the same principle and strewn a few ill-assorted facts over two hundred pages of drivel and pathos. Some day the American labor movement will have its historian. Some writer will essay the task who

possesses the prerequisite qualifications of a capacity for careful and patient research and the ability to sift the wheat from the chaff. To such a historian, Mr. Casson's book will be valueless, except as an awful example of "how not to do it." Meantime, while the dust of oblivion gathers upon this sorry experiment, its author will do well to choose some theme more suited to his talents. After improving his English, he might take up "Is Marriage a Failure?" or compile "A New Anthology of Nursery Rhymes."

J. Spargo.

The Fatal Flaw.

THERE is an old rhyme about the horse shoe nail which caused the loss of a kingdom. For want of the nail the shoe was lost, then the horse, and finally, the rider and the precious news he bore, until the train of mishaps ended in the downfall of a kingdom. The unfortunate nail did not cause all this, but it was the fatal flaw which exposed the shoe to a greater strain than it could bear—and so, destruction came. Numerous parallels in history and in life could be given only to re-illustrate the wonderful manner in which all things are balanced and bound together. Remove the smallest weight on one side, and up swings some great beam and down goes the other side. All forces, of whatever kind, are like water—ever seeking a level. Change but the smallest factor one place, and the forces must seek and create a new equilibrium. The failure to do so would be fatal. Life itself may be defined as the perpetual balance between destructive and constructive forces. The failure to adjust the individual to new environment is fatal. Disease is lack of balance towards the side of destruction and decay, and death is the final triumph of the latter. The fatal flaw is failure to conform to environment, or in other words, to balance the contending forces for new situations. As environment is constantly changing, growth and health demand a ceaseless readjustment to the new situation. Stagnation is death because of its failure to do this. This is why nothing in the universe, least of all, any institution of mortal manufacture, can hope to be permanent. All that is, is the water level, so to speak, of the forces now in play. Like a kaleidoscope, these forces change, and like the shifting bits of colored glass we and our proud governments and religions change with them. The ages go by and the powers at play have raised a new level. To that level we must rise, or the penalty is decay and death. Fighting it would be like old King Lear, madly, shaking his impotent fist at the storm. Daring it were like another Canute defying the sea. Let us seek, the rather, to ascertain its direction and travel with it.

There can be no doubt that one of the best defined tendencies of the tide is towards concentration and union. "No man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." This truth is finding fresh illustration each day. The world is getting smaller, its waste places reclaimed, its hidden places found. Trade and commerce are forcing men of all nations to meet on a common level. Education and science are bringing men together. Great combinations are teaching the value of union. The smaller nations are disappearing, but their people remain and come into the wider union of powerful confederacies and share in the material pros-

perity thereof. What does all this mean? Fifty years ago the gifted Frenchman, Lamartine, foresaw this and wrote: "Providence seems to have charged the genius of industry and of discovery with the task of preparing for Him the most complete union of the terrestrial globe that has ever condensed time, space and people in one compact, homogeneous mass. * * * These means (great inventions and discoveries) are so evident that it is impossible not to perceive in them a new plan of Providence—a new tendency in an unknown direction." Fifty years have brought us much nearer that grand goal which the great Frenchman foresaw: the union of thought as well as of nations. He could not tell what new high level that would set up for nations and individuals. Neither can we, but there are many profound reasons for believing that where the philosopher failed, the poet did not, and Burns was prophet as well as poet when he wrote:

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that;
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

The Brotherhood of Man.—Words often used, but not always comprehended. Brotherhood even in blood relationship means so much less to some than to others. The acknowledgment of relationship may be coupled with the query, "What of it? Am I my brother's keeper?" So with this badly abused term, brotherhood of man; it may be qualified to mean very little by such queries as these, "What of it, am I to be made responsible for the sins of my brethren—made to suffer for their misfortunes? Some of them, sad to say, are poor unfortunates—is that my fault? What can I do?" There is one aspect of the relationship that escapes most people who have the term often upon their lips, and that is this: Real brotherhood implies a common and an equal inheritance. The earth belongs to those who live upon it—the wealth of nature belongs to all—truths that should be axioms but are not. Brotherhood means not only the recognition of these truths and their actual application, but it means, furthermore, the absolute right of each individual to enjoy the full fruit of his own labor when performed in lawful fields. Anything short of this, any scheme whereby, like cunning Jacob, you cheat poor Esau out of his inheritance or deny him any natural right which you enjoy yourself, is a denial of brotherhood, no matter how much you

may preach it. A strict belief in brotherhood would make the greatest revolution the world ever saw. Not only would it give to each "brother" his rightful share of the natural wealth of the world, but his proportional part of all values the community make, such as public franchises, etc.

The creation of a new level has always made great changes. In the early ages a man's duty was to his own family. He had no country, no fatherland. Then came the tribe, and the highest duty then sometimes demanded the sacrifice of the individual and the family for the general welfare. This was the foundation of patriotism. It was justified because it was necessary and essential. As long as the tribe—or a confederacy of small tribes could promote the general welfare, devotion thereto was a higher duty than self-preservation or the welfare of one family. At different times all the various forms of government have been necessary and conducive to the general welfare, but when they ceased to be so, they were altered or abolished.

In the language of the immortal "Declaration of Independence," when any form of government became destructive of these rights (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) it was the duty of the people to alter or abolish it. This they have done, time and time again, and this they will do again. Sometimes the change was made in blindness and wrath, sometimes by the baptism of fire and blood, but made it was, if the nation was to live and not perish.

Is our form of government, to-day, in harmony with this new level of brotherhood which is drawing upon the world? Is it productive of the common welfare? Does it do the greatest amount of good for the greatest number of people, or are there some who are benefitted more than the others? Does it favor the few at the expense of the many? Does the worker get what he creates by his labor? Have all "brothers" the same opportunities, or are there many handicapped in life's race? If an affirmative answer can not be given to these questions, there must be a failure somewhere to adjust our government to existing circumstances, and a change of some kind is imperative. A government must not only favor the general industrial prosperity of its people, but it must also favor their mental and moral prosperity. When success in the first must be purchased by failure in either or both of the others, there is a fatal flaw somewhere. There are noble men and women living who sadly assure us that this is the case to-day. That the average commercial or professional success is gained at the expense of the best qualities in humanity, and is seldom found coupled with greatness either mental or moral. Your so-called successful moneyed man is often a rogue in morals and a pauper in mind. Why can this be so? Because unlimited competition

sets a premium upon the least honorable of our qualities, encourages selfishness, puts man in unfriendly and deadly strife with man, and crushes all higher aspirations in the desperate struggle for success. And where one succeeds how many do not! What a travesty on brotherhood is it that the success of one brother must be built on the failure of another!

If once simple brotherhood was recognized and common justice done to all, what a change would dawn upon the world. The task of being our brother's keeper would not then assume such terrifying dimensions. It is the present unequal struggle which develops most of the crime, wretchedness and misery of the world. Remove the unjust handicaps and men and women will better take care of themselves. Man is not a creature of darkness rather than of light—he does not naturally cling to the mud and do evil, but would rise if the hindering chains were removed. In the fierce struggle to succeed at any cost, all the baser qualities of human nature are being stimulated and developed. The intense strain upon the nerves which the fear of failure, of poverty and disgrace produces goes far towards lowering the moral tone and thus drives men to drink and to other forms of excess. In a feeble way society does recognize and acknowledge brotherhood without really being conscious of it. But the peculiar truth is that it is to the least creditable of the race that it extends this unconscious recognition. The deserving worker, unless he can show a superior ability to the mass of his fellows, is allowed to fight his battle for bread without a helping hand being held out. But the vicious and the criminal, the utterly bad, society takes up and shelters, feeds and clothes. Daily bread for which some are forced to work until the red blood oozes from finger tips and the palsy strikes both heart and brain is given freely as a premium for crime, for sin and shame. Oh, the pity and the shame of it! It may be said that no thought of brotherhood is in this action, no acknowledgment of responsibility, but merely self-defense. Then why extend the same care to the harmless insane and the paupers? Surely their assaults are not to be dreaded. No, the reason is deeper. Society does recognize, though vaguely, that in some manner she has cheated these unfortunate ones and owes them reparation. She is trying, blindly it seems, to educate the rising generation and prepare it for the great struggle, but as that struggle gets harder and harder as the natural opportunities are cornered, this training is all inadequate. She is working at the wrong end. Let her do something to make the struggle easier, and then, watch results. Of what use are millions of money spent in charity if the causes of poverty are not removed? What signify great universities and magnificent libraries if more leisure time can not be given the people they are designed to aid? What

good towards the prevention of crime have penal institutions and rigid criminal laws accomplished, when the circumstances breeding crime are not changed? Is it small wonder that viewing such failure, great men and good have lost heart and have doubted the people and the ability of the latter to govern themselves! You cannot build a good structure on a rotten foundation, and the fatal flaw of existing institutions is the failure to recognize the basic principle of human brotherhood and building thereon.

How can this be done? That is the great question. Medical men have asserted that if we could only bring about a complete harmony with our environment we should live beyond the century mark. Yet for all that we have little hopes of attaining that doubtful blessing. No one is quite credulous enough to believe that some elixir of life will be discovered that shall solve the whole business at once. No, the adjustment to conditions must be a daily, an hourly task. So with the problem of social regeneration. It must come gradually. No patent elixir of life can be found, the numerous builders of Utopias to the contrary notwithstanding. Life refuses to flow in the artificial channels we cut out for it. It forces its own. Perhaps we may divine the way the current is setting, perhaps not. At present it is, no doubt, towards a disposition upon society's part to recognize more clearly the brotherhood of all men. This is bringing about a kinder feeling towards those who are down and unfortunate, and a growing desire to do more for them than mere charity. Why should my brother—(what a pitying flood leaps into the heart when the sacred meaning of the word dawns upon us)—why should my brother starve when bread is plenty?—why should he be without work when work is everywhere needed?—why should my sister—(God of Heaven, can that poor wretch who creeps in the gutter be my sister?) why should my sister be driven to shame for the necessities of life? Room, room, more room, do not crowd them to the wall. Fair play! And the demand for fair play may lead society to take over various mismanaged monopolies simply to find work for her children. It will take back the franchises it undoubtedly owns and operate them for the people's benefit, not for a handful of capitalists. This much done, who doubts the result? The powers that be are creating a new level, doubt it not, and all obstacles thereto will be swept away. We may not see a Bellamy Utopia, but we will see the disinherited ones get a portion at least of their own. The people are not ready yet for their inheritance. A little longer will the unjust stewards and the unfaithful guardians have to be borne, but oh! blessed day, when the minority years are done, and the people, grown wise by affliction, educated by suffering, come into their own.

Grace Stuart.

Who Shall Inherit the Earth?



As a boy in Sunday school, the beatitude, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth," was to me a conundrum, and for many a long year afterwards I felt a good deal like the farm laborer in the south of Scotland who was completely floored by the Old Testament text, "The Lord shall make the hinds to calve." To appreciate his mental attitude, the reader should know that in that part of the world the farm servants are known as hinds. At length, unable to get satisfaction from his own cogitation, he ventured to call on his pastor and explained to him his difficulty, concluding with the remark, "If it were not in the Bible I would not believe it, and even now I cannot conceive how it can be possible." As a boy, as a young man, I believed that some day the meek would inherit the earth, but looking at the conditions that surrounded me, I could not conceive even its remote possibility.

Some years ago in the pursuit of my studies I ran across a very reasonable explanation of this text, which proved itself to be a part of the mysticism of the Old Testament. In reading the Bible we are very apt to forget that after all it treats entirely of the descendants of Abraham, their past, present and future. The Hebrews were, from their position, very largely isolated from the rest of the world, and therefore, like the Egyptians of old, and the Boer of South Africa to-day, they developed a very small conception of the world and its human inhabitants. They believed themselves to be a chosen people of God and the entire affairs of the universe centered round them and were regulated in their interests. Like all other nations, they had seasons of prosperity and seasons of depression. When their material interests were good they believed they were being rewarded for their well doing. When prosperity failed they supposed themselves to be punished by the Lord for their backsliding. Therefore, in the days of their deepest anguish, when both kingdoms—Israel and Judah—were carried into captivity, it looked like the total annihilation of their independence and existence. But their prophets felt that the cloud would overshadow them but temporarily and that once they had repented of their sins the Lord would restore them to favor, and so they prophesied regarding Israel, the kingdom of the ten tribes, that the Lord had sold them into slavery, but that when they had been sufficiently humbled, become meek in fact, they would be restored to His favor, and have given to them the great destiny which they believed was to be theirs. So we find that the prophets speak of them as having been sold into slavery,

and that some day they would be brought back, that is, redeemed, by a Savior. Christ believed himself to be this redeemer and expressed the whole idea in a very terse sentence. On very few occasions did he specify exactly what he came for, not above half a dozen times in all, and on one of these occasions he said, "I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," meaning by that, that he was the redeemer of the lost ten tribes. Again he said he had "come to save that which was lost."

In the days of Christ the Jewish philosophers were well posted on all the theories as to the future destiny of both the house of Israel and that of Judah, and the location of the scattered tribes was supposed to be well known, as many of the Epistles are specifically addressed to the people of Israel scattered abroad, in fact, it is a question if any of them were addressed to any other people. Christ himself apparently believed in the popular opinions regarding the scattered tribes of Israel, and I think it is undoubted that he pictured in his mind this race repentant and humble when he uttered the words, "Blessed are the meek" (meek at that time) for they shall (sometime future) inherit the earth," thus pointing to the fulfillment of all the prophecies that were uttered regarding Abraham's descendants from the days of Abraham himself through Jacob, Moses, Samuel, Isaiah and all the other prophets.

Coming to modern times, I think it may safely be said that no one at heart believes that such a utopian condition will ever arise when meek individuals shall inherit and control human affairs on this earth. Mark Twain, in one of his cynical moods, expressed the popular opinion very neatly when he remarked that the Anglo-Saxon race must be meek seeing that they were inheriting the earth at a very large number of square miles every year.

I came across a new idea on this text a few months ago, which set me to thinking. There came into my hands a very charming and interesting little book entitled "The Coming People," by Dole, who therein gives a new exposition of the subject. He begins by asserting that if this beatitude were rendered into modern English the phraseology would now be "Happy are the kind for they shall inherit the earth," and proceeds to prove his case by pointing out how all rapacious animals are rapidly being exterminated and how such kind animals as the sheep, sow, horse, dog and cat are becoming more numerous every year. Then he goes further and insists that the owner who is kind to such members of the brute creation is more apt to be a financial success than is the one who is brutal. The farmer who houses his brutes comfortably, attends to their sanitation, gives them a plentiful supply of good, clean food, will be more apt to make his busi-

ness pay than will the one who is careless about the comforts of his animals and who treats them without mercy. He proceeds further and endeavors to show that the business man must to-day be considerate of his help, otherwise he will prove a financial failure.

This was to me a very beautiful thought. It bore on it a certain stamp of sweet reasonableness which is in accord with much of the ideas of the time, but somehow or other I felt that it was not in accordance with scientific facts, and lately there has come to me that the actual truth of the case might be summed up in this form, "Blessed are the useful for they shall inherit the earth." It is not because of their kindness that we protect domestic animals, but because they are useful to us, and it may not be uninteresting to glance back upon the history of the world and see what part usefulness played in the persistence of certain classes of human society. I say classes advisedly, because frequently when we look at the individuals we wonder what on all the earth some of them are here for, but sociology teaches us that the individual is not of much importance in the development of the human race as he is but a member of a particular group. The group is the real unit and the tendency of each group is to defend its individual members against attack from all other groups.

In the early dawn covered by the period of written history we find two great classes, the slaves and their owners, the exploited and the exploiter. The question naturally arises, in what respect were the slave owners useful. If we look back into the mists of obscurity, or, better still, consider the lower types of savages to-day, we find one lesson must be learned preparatory to human progress, namely, each man must learn how to work continuously. The savage naturally supplies his wants with the least possible exertion. Whenever food is plentiful he gorges himself, and then sleeps off the effects for days at a time. Once hunger returns he will exert himself and fill his empty stomach, again succumbing to indolence. In no other way could he be taught the lesson of persistent endeavor than by the whip, and so there evolved in due course of time the two great classes, the owner and the slave. For many long centuries the former was undoubtedly a very useful member of society, while he whipped into the skins of his bondsmen the tendency to work. As wealth in consequence accumulated, he secured leisure which enabled him to think and develop ideas which are to us to-day a precious heritage. But the increased leisure gradually developed into indolence and evolved a form of parasitism. When he ceased to be an active, superintending, that is, useful, member of society,

the world had no further need of him. His end had come, and he vanished.

But human beings, while they had learned much, had still other lessons coming to them, and so there arose a new order of society, that of the feudal lord and the serf. The former gave more liberty to his dependent than did the slave owner, but still he was essentially a taskmaster compelling continuous endeavor. He superintended the serf in his labors and defended him against attack. He was therefore useful, did good work for civilization until he also, like the slave owner, degenerated into a parasite and vanished in turn.

The captain of industry is the modern development of the slave owner and the feudal lord. He also is an exceedingly useful member of society. He is a magnificent organizer and manager, doing the thinking for the workers who positively decline to do it for themselves. As a useful member of society he must be paid, and has been paid handsomely for his services. To-day he is organizing our methods of production so as to eliminate every form of waste in our factories, and so long as he is fulfilling his mission on earth he is bound to persist and be the controlling force that he is to-day. At no very distant date he will concentrate his efforts on our methods of distribution, which are wasteful in the extreme, for, as a matter of fact, at least 50 to 75 per cent of the price that we pay for goods is chargeable to this department of commerce. Until this tremendous leakage has been eliminated the world stands in need of such organizers and managers, and so long as they are needed they are useful and cannot be discarded.

The laborer has always been useful and so we find him a prominent factor in every phase of organized society from the beginning of history until the present moment. In each succeeding age he bulks larger and more important than in the one before, and as he has been, is now, and always will be useful he will always be on earth.


The work of the organizer will undoubtedly some day be done and he will vanish never to return. He will cease being useful. The destiny of the proletariat is written clear and distinct. He will secure his inheritance sooner or later, but when will largely depend upon himself. The forces of nature are compelling him to travel in a certain direction, but by the exercise of reason he may see his goal and by training his brain he can fit himself for his future destiny and reach it sooner than by blundering on to it. He must learn to be organizer and manager as well as worker. The only way to learn to swim is to go into the water. The royal road to managing is to manage. The working classes must learn to manage their own affairs first, then by combination to manage

their politics, their trade organizations, their methods of distribution. Here is where the co-operative store is of greatest value. While its purpose is to supply commodities at a better price than can be secured from a merchant, its secondary effects upon the members are of far greater importance as it initiates them into the great problems of business management and conduct. Until this lesson has been learned by the laborers they will need to pay very handsome incomes to the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Morgans, the Armours and the Pullmans, who will be useful so long as the great masses of humanity are useless in the line that these giants have made their own.

We see then that it has always been true, is true now, and always will be true, that the useful—the useful groups—inherit the earth, and that nothing can prevent them.

F. Dundas Todd.

Evolution of Society.*

NE single fact dominates the whole history of civilization. The different stages of this history—slavery, serfdom, wage system—are marked by a division of mankind into distinct classes; masters and slaves in antiquity; lords and serfs in the Middle Ages; capitalists and wage-workers in our present epoch. The forms, aspects and degrees of this division change from country to country, and from generation to generation, but at the bottom the same fundamental fact remains,—the exploitation of human labor.

A primordial and permanent necessity rests upon mankind, and dominates all manifestations of their existence: the necessity of labor, the necessity of production.

As long as the processes of labor—breeding, cultivation, handicrafts,—are in such a low stage of development as to barely permit the production of that which is absolutely necessary to the existence of each individual worker, there can be no question of the exploitation of the labor of others. The men go frequently into battle; but no one cares for the vanquished, they are killed on the spot. Their flesh furnishes a banquet for the victors. Cannibalism reigns without cant or hypocrisy.

But the productive forces are ever growing, and this growth forms the principal dynamic of history. As soon as man becomes able to produce a surplus beyond his absolute necessities, this surplus is taken by other men. The vanquished foe ceases to become the direct prey of the victor. He becomes instead his slave.

At this moment one class begins to work for another class as a horse is trained to go under the bridle and spur of the rider.

At this moment the great battle began between exploiters and exploited. It is not our purpose to tell the long story of this battle nor to picture its dramatic scenes. We are not here concerned with the heroic deeds, eloquent words, striking attitudes, or rallying cries of the principal religious, political and judicial actors.

Let us remember, however, that as long as possible the struggle was carried on outside the domain of actuality, outside the field of labor, in order to as long as possible keep within the "ideal" world of religion and politics,—the realm of mysticism.

By this ultra-economic transposition the "fact of the crime" did not change, but it remained concealed. The philosophies of

*The above article forms the Introduction to Jules Guesdes' "Class State, Politics and Morals," and constitutes one of the most graphic and clear-cut presentations of many of the fundamentals of Socialist philosophy ever published.

antiquity sanctified slavery. The Bible deified surplus labor when it declared, "In the sweat of his brow shall man eat bread." Religion legalized terrestrial suffering by the intangible promise of celestial joys. Only yesterday Guizot has dared to say, "Labor is a bridle," to-day Tolstoi intones with the mujik Bondareff. "In the sweat of the brow shalt thou knead bread." If all this be true, to what purpose was the invention of mechanical mixers.

If mankind takes all these detours, and strays into all these vague and illusory roads, if it will arrive but slowly or not at all at the actual problem,—it is because the material conditions of the solution—the immense increase of productive forces and powerful concentration of all the means of communication—are realized but very slowly with the progress of history.

But the solution grows nearer. Economic facts develop prodigiously and the view of the contradictions born of the capitalist regime grows clearer every day. The exploitation concealed beneath the veil of wages becomes every day more evident to an ever increasing number of the workers. The material basis of the revolution of the workers is now in advance of the individual ideas, and it is utopian to seek to delay the hour of deliverance. This hour will sound whenever the proletariat wills it.

When one considers all the things consumed, utilized or put in reserve each year by the totality of any country, when these things are reduced to their constituent elements, they will be found in the last analysis to consist only of matter, energy supplied by nature, and the labor power supplied by men, and nothing more. No one can lay any particular individual claim to the work of nature. It is human labor alone which gives social value to things. These things ought then to return exclusively to the world of the workers. But the most ignorant knows that the fruits of labor are not thus divided. The blindest can see that the most savory of these fruits are consumed by an idle and privileged class. In our society, as in the society of antiquity, and in the days of feudalism, the pain and toil of one class afford freedom and pleasure to another.

Labor manifests itself by an expenditure of energy,—of muscles, of nerves. To consume the labor of a human being is to consume this energy,—these muscles, these nerves; it is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood. It is the perpetuation in a new form—a final and disguised form—of primitive cannibalism.

The bourgeois, the high flyers and gluttons of the bourse, are then exactly and without metaphor, but living vampires. Their profligacy, pleasures and voluptuousness are woven from the deep sorrows and afflictions of the oppressed class.

Under a regime of exploitation there are only three possible positions—either one receives more, or less, or just as much as his

labor creates. The excess of production due to social co-operation, which properly belongs to no individual but should return equally to all, in no way alters this fact. There are three distinct classes: the large capitalist, the small capitalist and the wage-worker. The first and the last are alone radical. Any midway position is virtually theoretical; its equilibrium is as unstable as that of Blondin crossing the Niagara gorge; for one expert who passes a multitude of inferior balancers fall into the depths of the foaming river.

Everyone knows that the intermediate class—the middle class—the little manufacturers, property owners, merchants, etc., which once constituted a buffer between these two extremes, is to-day buffeted to and fro until it is being pulverized by the competition of the great capitalist. The small capitalists are constantly being scattered to the four winds of heaven by failures and bankruptcies; no sooner do they rise in fortune than they fall again and roll hopelessly into the proletarian host of the damned. Soon there will remain but the two classes: capitalists and laborers.

To each economic class there is a corresponding political party.

On top is the conservative governmental party, with all its factions gathered into one capitalist mass. At the bottom is the revolutionizing socialist party. Between these is the wavering, disappearing party of the small capitalist, a party whose economic base is continually crumbling away, and which, in spite of the names it may call itself, is incapable of playing any radical role.

Just as the middle class falls away with each recurring day, just so every day sees the radical party grow smaller and weaker. The most far-seeing of the radicals are moving toward the socialists; the more cynical, such as Yves Guyot, like clowns in the circus, leap toward the capitalist party, bursting as they bound through the hoop the stretched paper of their old programs.

The undecided ones, the sheep, continue to stammer forth the old formulas in an indistinct murmur. The leader, the vigorous man of the party in France, Clemenceau, stalks on alone, in spite of the prestige of his double talent as writer and speaker, because he pretends to judge the movements of the social struggle from the superhuman heights of the natural struggle.

* * * * *

There remains, taking all in all, only two real parties: the party of exploitation and the party of emancipation of labor.

Our existence gravitates around Labor as the earth gravitates around the sun. No sun, no planetary life. No labor, no

human life. No equal labor for all healthy men; no justice, no solidarity, no happiness.

The capitalist world and its partisans would perpetuate, universalize, increase the exploitation of human labor.

The socialist world and its partisans would abolish the whole system of exploitation of human labor.

The first considers labor as a punishment, a muzzle, a disgrace. They do not wish to be punished, muzzled or disgraced. Their glory, their freedom, their honor rests upon the labor of others.

The second considers labor as a normal manifestation of life, as the indispensable condition of human existence, as the "medium of the material circulation between nature and man" (K. Marx), as the foundation for an harmonious development of body and mind, as a spice to enjoyment. They desire this work in an equal amount for all, and continually diminishing in accordance with the progress of technology and its practical applications.

There is no possible conciliation between these two worlds and the parties they represent. Choose between them! Join the ranks of one or the other of these two armies that are now confronting each other—the army of Capital, and the army of Labor.

The battle will never cease until there is no more exploitation of labor.

Then there will be no more classes, nor class antagonisms. "The government of men will give place to the administration of things." In freeing itself the proletariat will have freed all of society.

Edouard Fortin.

Translated by A. M. Simons.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

France.

The "Socialist on leave," Millerand, is pursuing his course regardless of consequences. In recent public speeches he tried to justify his entrance into the cabinet by the plea of "saving the republic." According to him, the Socialists "can realize truly democratic reforms in a capitalist republic, if they only have universal suffrage. A party that wishes to transform the world must first transform the environment. Therefore Socialists are forced to take part in all questions of interior, exterior, and colonial politics." This is the old opportunist plea of "practical" politics. But you will search in vain for any appreciable transformations of the environment brought about by the practical opportunists. The revolutionary Socialists reply to this plea, that they have done more for the working class by uncompromising tactics than any opportunist ever did by "positive" tactics. That all the best efforts of the Socialists along these lines are quickly defeated by the class interests of the capitalists as soon as they interfere with private profits. And that the only changes in the environment that will "transform the world" are the transformation of the workingmen into class conscious beings and the abolition of the capitalist system.

"Le Mouvement Socialiste" quotes with approval the following passage from a speech of Bebel in the German Reichstag: "A speaker here has alluded to Millerand and compared his reform work to our prospective child labor law. He has alleged that this law will be infinitely superior to the work of the Socialist minister. We will wait and see what our child labor law will amount to. But I want to say this: If we had a Millerand in Germany, and he would try to offer such reform legislation, we should give him a very cold reception."

The sentiment against Millerand is evidently growing, even in the ranks of the ministerialists. When Cipriani introduced a motion in the General Committee of the Parti Socialiste to exclude Millerand from the party, the vote stood 23 against, 16 for, and 11 abstentions. The 16 minority votes belonged to the Allemanists. Gerault-Richard then moved the order of the day, which was carried by 28 for, 20 against, and 4 abstentions. The question is now before the party on a referendum. The opposition issued a manifesto (later signed by seven autonomous federations) recalling the resolutions of the General Committee against the ministerialist policy and pointing out that the majority of the committee supported Millerand in spite of their resolutions. The opposition will remain in the committee for the purpose of

"opposing the formation of a distinct ministerialist party." This adds to the many varieties of French Socialist the unique brand of anti-ministerialist ministerialists.

Rightly or wrongly, Millerand is charged with the following misdemeanors: Solidarity with his capitalist colleagues who have turned against the working class in all strikes; indifference to the butcheries in China and Armenia; neglect in punishing outrages of soldiers; weak attitude against reactionaries who deceive the workingmen with side issues; complicity in the persecutions of the Socialist press and the suppression of teachers and professors who do not agree with the Minister of Education.

"The Millerand question weighs heavily on the evolution of our party," writes F. de Pressense in "Le Mouvement Socialiste." "It has turned us from our straight course and stopped all progress for the last three years. It lames the conscience and the energy of many of our best militant Socialists and raises problems that could not have arisen formerly. And it threatens to turn the elections into a defeat for Socialism."

One defeat has already become a fact. In the municipal election at Roubaix (near Lille), the Guesdists were almost wiped off the ticket. In the elections of 1900 they had a majority of 2,000. Now they received a minority of 640, the vote being 8,495 for the capitalist candidates and 7,855 for the Socialists. For 10 years the Mayor and the majority of the City Council (23) had been Socialists. Now the Mayoralty and 16 seats were lost to the capitalist party. Without commenting on the occurrence, we confine ourselves to stating the situation: The textile industry is strongly developed in Roubaix and the middle class is losing ground, so that all who are interested in the continuation of the capitalist system, rally to the support of the textile magnate, who controls the economic situation. When Guesde was a candidate for the Chamber in the same district in 1898, he was beaten by this same magnate, although the Socialist vote had then doubled since the previous election. The present election became necessary because the Socialists had resigned after their demand for the abolition of the indirect municipal duties on imported goods had been rejected by the Chamber. The corruptive influence of the textile boss still found enough workingmen ignorant of their own interests after 10 years of Socialist administration. "La Petite Republique" blames the "uncompromising tactics of the Guesdists" for their defeat, while "Le Petit Sou" counts among the enemies of Socialism "the traitors of the republic saving order, the Socialists of the Millerand type." Carette, the defeated Mayor, attributes the disaster to the narrowness of the Guesdist leaders and declares himself in favor of local autonomy. He publishes a manifesto in "La Petite Republique" inviting the Socialists of Roubaix to form a "Socialist Labor Party of Roubaix" and to leave the Parti Ouvrier Français.

Socialists of the "Millerand type" had to strike their colors to the Guesdists in Cette near Marseilles. In 1900 they had elected a Mayor, Euzet, and the majority of the Municipal Council. The split caused in the Socialist ranks by the Millerand question led Euzet to desert his party, and he was formally excluded, because he took part in the re-

ception of the Tsar. Nevertheless he remained in office and 24 Councilmen supported him. Only 5 Guesdists were left in opposition. But they had one good ally—the character of the renegade Mayor. He took it into his head to bully the trade unions. The five Guesdists took the cue and handled the situation so well that the trade unionists sided with them and forced Euzet and his supporters to resign. The resulting election ended in a complete defeat of the “me-too” Socialists. The Guesdists elected a Mayor and 29 Councilmen, leaving only one seat in the hands of their opponents. The “impractical plans and dangerous utopias” which Euzet had ridiculed in the Guesdists’ platform, did not deter the workingmen. Opportunists please copy.

According to Chaboseau, in “Le Mouvement Socialiste,” the number of Socialist votes at the last general elections has been rather overestimated. Leaving out all doubtful votes, he computes the following figures from official returns: In 1898, 751,554 Socialist votes were cast, equal to 9.21 per cent of 8,159,912 actual votes and 6.96 per cent of 10,787,470 registered voters. The strongest Socialist vote was polled in the following departments: Seine, 197,851, or 26.38 per cent of the total Socialist vote in France; Nord, 81,369, or 10.83 per cent of the total Socialist votes. The next in order are Pas de Calais, with 41,657, and Bouche de Rhone (Marseilles) with 36,214 votes. This shows that the centers of population and industries are well organized, and as they determine the pulse of national production, their control by Socialists would force the whole country to follow the line of Socialist evolution. The average Socialist vote in these districts was 23.25 per cent of the registered electorate in 1896. It rose to 26.66 per cent in 1898. In 1900 it fell to 22.98 per cent, mainly on account of the dissensions caused by Millerand. The feeling is that the next general elections (1902) will show the disastrous effects of Millerandism still more. A united Socialist front seems to be out of the question for this year.

Germany.

The Socialist representatives in the Reichstag are getting ever new and drastic propaganda material out of the debate of the new tariff bill and the government budget which is closely connected with the bill. While most of the work on the tariff is done by a committee, there is nevertheless plenty of opportunity to discuss these matters in open session. The fate of the bill vacillates back and forth. As long as the clericals, conservatives and liberals had a private understanding to go together, the Socialists were in the hopeless minority. But the Clericals are being so hard pressed in the elections by the Socialists, and the Catholic working men threaten to champion the Socialist cause so openly, that the Clericals have been forced, much against their will, to introduce an amendment demanding the repeal of indirect municipal duties on imported goods. This amendment, if carried, will become part of the bill and thus defeat the whole scheme. At the same time, the Clericals are demanding the re-admission of the Jesuits, and the Socialists are the only speakers who declare that there is no

danger in letting the Jesuits in, and that if anybody is afraid of them, the Jesuits are right in cheating them. Just at this moment, "manifest destiny" had the bad taste to change sides without warning and drop a secret document into the office of the "Vorwaerts," showing that the Secretary of the Navy had deceived the Reichstag about the future intentions of the government and thus obtained concessions to build war vessels which would not have been granted had the truth been known. The connection between the present tariff bill and the necessity to obtain more taxes for carrying out the wild schemes of the Emperor is so plain that the hostile relations between the agrarians and the government now appear as part of a well enacted game to squeeze more taxes out of the working people. The Socialists do not fail to point out, that this mode of taxation has reached its limit and that the only sane and equitable way for filling the public treasury is a progressive income tax that will force the rich to bear the burdens of their policy. Of course, the junkers and the government officials are furious and have arrested the responsible editor of "Vorwaerts," Leid, for complicity in stealing the document. Bebel, however, declared in the Reichstag: "We do not know who sent the document, and if we did, we would not tell you. It came unsolicited, however, and in an anonymous letter. We do not pay such rascals and scoundrels as your police agents who sneak into our party to spy for secrets. Our hands are clean in every way. We have never spent a cent for such purposes and we shall never do so. But we shall continue to make use of such documents as reach us without our initiative, no matter whether you like it or not." And he twits his opponents with the prospect of having the increased navy budget and the tariff bill for propaganda purposes in the next elections.

Propaganda material to burn! The rights of 13 million laborers are sacrificed to the profits of 5½ million bosses. In all processes against Socialist editors, the government did not dare to admit the proofs of the existence of "hun letters" from the China expedition. The factory inspectors are warned by a "secret" government circular not to give any opinion on the expediency of shortening the hours of labor. The government is unable to collect unemployed statistics, and 12,000 members of the Socialist party in Berlin accomplish the task of circularizing the city with census cards in half a day. This census shows that there are 76,029 unemployed, 52,501 working reduced time and 19,239 sick and invalids in Berlin and suburbs. The government has not enforced the eight-hour day, prohibition of child labor, and sanitary conditions in factories and house industries. The coal syndicate is still keeping up the price of coal in the home market and selling cheap in the foreign market, in spite of the industrial crisis. The German princes are making excessive use of their privilege to use the mails free. A demonstration of unemployed in Frankfort-on-Main is attacked by the police. The "Socialwissenschaftliche Studenten Verein" (Students' Social Economics Club) is dissolved by the president of Berlin University and the officers of the club are threatened with expulsion if they hold protest meetings. Laborers are marched to the polls by bosses and discharged if they dare to change their ballot. Many of these ballots are also marked so that they can be identified. A cer-

tain machine shop offers to a married foreman 24 mark (\$5.47) per month on condition that he leaves his trade union. Since 1886, about 83,000 workmen were killed in industries. In 1900 alone, 8,567 were killed and over 90,000 wounded. The "heavy burden" of labor insurance, about which the bosses complain, amounts to 3 pfennig per day and laborer, or 7.76 mark per year and boss in 1899, and to 9.88 mark in 1900, according to official statistics. The Socialist vote in Bueckeburg increased from 591 in 1898 to 1645 in 1900. In the Reichstag election in Doebein-Rosswein (Saxony), the Socialist Grunberg was elected with 11,781 votes against 6,119 Liberal and 5,340 Conservative votes. This makes 58 Socialists in the Reichstag, including Eduard Bernstein, who is sure of election in Breslau.

The rumor that the government will assume control of the Gelsenkirchen coal mines shows a general tendency of this transition period, which finds an analogy in the sweeping nationalization and municipalization of industries to be introduced in Italy. It is the unemployed problem which forces the capitalist governments to resort to such measures as a last refuge. Socialists should take heed of these straws and ponder over these words of "Vorwaerts:" "European capitalism looks with growing anxiety toward America. Over there, a very live activity is still observed in the metal industries. The daily papers are full of new orders given by railroad companies to iron and steel works. But if we take a close look, we see that the same men are behind the railroads and the metal works. They are giving orders to themselves! * * * It looks as if gigantic swindling operations were carried on, as if the great speculators were pretending to push orders for the purpose of lulling the little fellows into security and animating them to buy bad stock. After the big fellows will have withdrawn the greater part of their capital, they will take off their hands, and prosperity will suddenly be followed by a crash, as in Europe. An American crisis will have a disastrous effect on Europe."

In the meantime, an international steamship agreement including the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American Line is in process of formation and the American Tobacco Trust is buying up the big German tobacco factories. The foundations of the international commonwealth are being laid by the capitalists, a guarantee of universal peace which the Hague farce is powerless to secure.

England

The Social Democratic Federation, though not victorious in the Dewsbury election, gave a good account of itself in spite of severe difficulties. Comrade Quelch, the S. D. F. candidate for Parliament, was opposed by the Independent Labor Party, who wished to put Hartley into the field. But Hartley declared in a meeting which Quelch was to address, that he would support the S. D. F. candidate, and in a letter to the "Clarion" denounced the leaders of his own party, Keir Hardie, Bruce Glasier and J. R. Macdonald, as intriguers. In consequence a considerable number of I. L. P. branches passed resolutions endorsing Quelch. Needless to say, the capitalist papers dragged all

the usual shopworn and dusty lies about Socialism from their shelves, claiming that Quelch, the Socialist candidate, "is in favor of destroying private property by what he calls nationalization of the means of production and does not deserve any consideration." The Irish Home Rule Party also opposed the Socialist candidate and urged the Irish voters in Dewsbury to support the capitalist imperialist.

The vote of 1,597 for Quelch, equal to one-seventh of the total vote, shows, however, that at least a part of the working class in Dewsbury does no longer listen to capitalist advice. In a personal letter to the editor of the "Review," Comrade Quelch says: "We did not win, but the general impression is that we did very well, and I think so, too. Fighting on a straight Socialist program, with not only the capitalist parties to fight, but with so-called "labor leaders" and the official crowd of the I. L. P. using their influence against us, I think it was a good vote to poll one-seventh of the electorate in such a fight. If we can only put in the necessary organizing work there we ought to win the place at the next election."

In Dublin, Ireland, three Socialists were elected in the municipal elections, receiving over 25 per cent of the vote, although the Irish Socialist Party is only about two years old. The Catholic priests vehemently denounced Socialism and threatened to excommunicate all men and women who worked for the Socialist candidates. Nevertheless 1,063 voters seem to be more concerned in escaping from the capitalist hell than from purgatory.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The National Committee of the Socialist party held a most successful meeting at St. Louis. It was shown that the party now has an enrolled membership of over ten thousand, although not all are as yet paying dues to the national organization owing to some misunderstanding regarding "State autonomy." It is expected that all the States will be thoroughly organized during the present year, and with that end in view National Secretary Greenbaum and the local members of the committee (the executive) have been instructed to issue a call for a "National Propaganda Fund," to be used in pushing the work in unorganized localities in an aggressive manner. The membership is now voting on a party emblem, to elect an international secretary, and other important party matters. Hereafter cards, stamps, etc., will be uniform, and the necessity of supporting the party press will be persistently kept before the members. The committee is to choose an official list of speakers, and the members will also be asked to elect a fraternal delegate to visit the Canadian comrades. The position of the party on the trade union question, as promulgated by the Indianapolis Unity convention, was re-affirmed. The old officers were re-elected. With liberal support of the "Propaganda Fund," and early adherence of all party members to the national organization, the outlook for a steady and strong growth for the Socialist cause is exceptionally bright.

Out in Northport, Wash., the workingmen went on strike, and they likewise carried their grievance to the ballot-box. They elected city officers from Mayor down and one-half the Councilmen. As soon as the old politicians saw their game was up, they combined in the Council and a dead-lock resulted. Then they locked out the triumphant workingmen, but the latter caught one of the old Councilmen and held a session in the middle of the street and organized, claiming a quorum was present. Now the trouble has gone into the courts. The workingmen in question are members of the Socialist party; the politicians are Republicans and Democrats, showing that the latter no longer love labor when it strikes politically, and that they have no hesitancy in combining and proving by their own acts that there is no difference between their parties.

During the past month thirty of the members of the "peace committee" of the National Civic Federation met in New York and held another talkfest. The upshot was that Senator Hanna, the chairman of the committee, was given power to select a sub-committee to con-

sider grievances when both sides in a controversy make the request. The Senator professed to be very gleeful and hopeful. He made the happy announcement that henceforth "strikes are doomed" and that it is now "up to me" to bring about harmony between capital and labor. Meanwhile strikes continue to rage in different parts of the country, just as though the committee wasn't on earth. Some time ago the iron workers of San Francisco telegraphed to Hanna requesting that he set his machinery in motion to settle the long strike on the coast. He promised to do so, but that was the last heard from the great harmonizer. The Boston teamsters followed with a request that their strike be arbitrated. Hanna sent his little boy, Secretary Ralph Easley, of the Civic Federation, to Boston to investigate. Easley went, talked mysteriously and looked wise for a few days, disappeared, and that was the last heard from the adjudicators, par excellence. Hanna is a stockholder in the shipbuilding trust on the lakes. Last fall the ship carpenters and caulkers made a demand for the nine-hour day. The bosses promised to grant the concession the first of the year. They deliberately broke their agreement and the men went on strike at Cleveland, Hanna's home. The men petitioned Hanna to come and clean up his own yard. A Washington reporter inquired of the Senator whether he would go to Cleveland to settle the trouble. He replied: "What trouble? I know of no strike in Cleveland." Still Hanna will make a great Presidential candidate, with both labor and capital lined up for him.

The next interesting move on the chess-board of industry is to be made by the miners. At their late convention the bituminous workers withdrew all their demands in order to put up a united front to secure recognition, the eight-hour day and minor concessions for their brethren in the anthracite field. There is strike talk heard in the hard coal region, and quite a few local walkouts have occurred during the past month. At this writing the miners' officials are attempting to urge the operators to come into a conference, but all will depend upon J. P. Morgan's view of the matter. If he refuses to confer, a general strike will quite likely occur, and then Hanna, the harmonizer, will have the center of the stage. If he can succeed in coaxing Morgan to make a few concessions his Presidential boom will receive added impetus, especially since Roosevelt is showing an inclination of desiring to handicap Morgan and Hill in their attempt to gobble the Western railways and draw them into a merger. It's a great game.

It is reported from Washington that the bill to exclude the Chinese is likely to have tough sledding. The play is now to delay consideration, but if the pressure becomes too strong the bill is to be loaded down with amendments and talked to death or passed in such form that it can be easily violated. The "Six Companies" of San Francisco and secret societies of Chinese in New York, Chicago and other large cities are accumulating an immense fund to block the measure, while railroads and large manufacturing interests are also said to have strong lobbies on the ground to aid the "Chinks." The advocates of exclusion have been given an unwelcome surprise by the action of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, which was thought to be op-

posed to the Mongolian invasion. The 'Frisco Chamber smells profits. An elaborate array of statistics has been issued by that body showing the increase of trade with China, and the capitalists on the coast are informed that it would be impractical and against their interests to arouse the enmity of the Chinese people by excluding them from this country. The capitalists of the West and South especially who want cheap labor will leave no stone unturned to encompass the defeat of the bill that the union people want enacted into law.

The Ohio Supreme Court has declared the blacklist a legal weapon. A blacklisted railway worker had secured damages against a road in a lower court. The supreme body decided that an employer has the right to discharge whosoever engages in a strike affecting his interests. Another labor law, so-called, "busted." But there are still some union men who can't see the class lines and vote for their own undoing.

The Supreme Court of Michigan has just handed down a decision that is making union men gasp and employers smile. It is none other than that "suit may be brought against unincorporated voluntary associations." This means that the Taff Vale decision in England has been transplanted a little sooner than was expected. It is undoubtedly the first decision of the kind that has been made on this question by a Supreme Court, and no doubt it will be eagerly grasped by high and low judicial bodies in other States. In quite a few States employers have sued striking workmen for damages, and if they can tie up union treasuries in times of trouble the advantage will be considerable, while the chance of confiscating them in the long run, and perhaps even the little property that strikers may have secured by hard work, is one that the average capitalist will not overlook. The Michigan decision is the outcome of an action begun by a Detroit concern against the Molders' Union.

A plow company at Springfield, Ill., has sued 42 striking employes for \$50,000 damages. The company needs the money.

The new United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which includes all classes of railroaders, seems to be gaining ground rapidly. The chief division held a biennial convention in San Francisco and it was shown that the order was sweeping eastward so rapidly that it was necessary to plant headquarters in a more central locality, and Chicago was chosen. It was reported that 57 divisions had been formed in a few months, nearly all west of the Mississippi, although a foothold had been secured in Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania. The officers and the journal of the new organization make no secret of the fact that they are making war on the old brotherhoods. The claim is made that the latter have outlived their usefulness and are controlled by the railway magnates. Rumors are in circulation to the effect that the switchmen are favorably disposed toward the B. of R. E. on account of non-support and actual opposition that they received at the hands of the engineers, conductors and trainmen.

Labor commissioner of Missouri has issued a report in which he shows that 23,970 workers received \$11,064,640 as wages in certain

industries in that State during 1901. The employers, on the other hand, received \$13,581,229 as profits, or \$2,516,565 more than the thousands of toilers who produced the wealth. This is "dividing up" with a vengeance! And it also shows that there is great "prosperity" in the country—for Bro. Capitalist.

Utah Labor Journal of Salt Lake City, is a new one that is pounding away for Socialism. Ditto the Rocky Mountain Socialist of Denver.

New York Socialists have taken preliminary steps to establish a daily paper. They are raising funds.

St. Louis unionists are divided upon the question of boycotting the World's Fair. Some of them have gained concessions, others have not.

It's reported that the Illinois Central railroad will substitute a telephone system for telegraphs, and that if the experiment works successfully other roads will do the same.

Carpenters voted against holding a special convention to consider the case of P. J. McGuire, the former Secretary. The matter will now go over until the regular convention in the fall.

About eighty trade unions of New York held a big mass meeting and denounced the Hanna-Gompers-Cleveland "peace conference."

Melvin Yeakley, an Ohio man who invented the pneumatic hammer and a perfect gasoline engine, is developing a new appliance to supplant rubber tires. It is in the nature of a compressed air cylinder, which can be attached to a vehicle and make rubber tires unnecessary. Yeakley is building an automobile that will seat sixty persons, and with his cylinder attachment he expects to solve the problem of driving large and heavy horseless vehicles. He has made several successful trials.

Labor Commissioner of New Hampshire testifies that the average wages of workers in that State amount to \$6.85 per week. No doubt the latter will purchase steam yachts and go to Europe to spend their "surplus" next summer.

The United States Steel Corporation announced, with much "publicity," that it will clean up about \$110,000,000 profits this year. Bros. Morgan and Schwab may want a little more, however, as the wages of the rod mill workers of Cleveland and other points have been slashed 15 to 25 per cent. What beautiful harmony and co-operation doth exist in the industrial world. Let's all be brothers!

Organizer Crilley, of the A. F. of L., was driven out of Meridian, Miss., because he attempted to organize negro workmen. The "best" citizens did the ku-kluxing.

New York unionists are already criticising the "reform" government of that city. They claim labor laws are not enforced, and that there is actually no difference between the new administration and Tammany.

BOOK REVIEWS

The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism. Jessica Peixotto. Cloth, 409 pp. \$1.50.

This is a comparative study of the doctrines and social conditions prior to the French revolution with present conditions and modern French Socialism. There was a general equalitarian and communistic utopian tone running through all the literature prior to the French revolution. Combined with these was the doctrine of Natural Rights and the Social Contract. The attitude of the nobility toward the literature of the Revolution is strangely characteristic of the attitude of modern bourgeoisie toward the literature of Socialism (p. 82). "The new literary movement of the day seemed to the members of this doomed class subject for an amused patronage or polite ridicule; they appear to have had little idea that it was really a menace to the advantages which they, as a class, enjoyed. Between pride and prejudice, frivolity and harshness, the class as a whole aided blindly in its own ruin." The author seems to think that a change is to-day taking place in the attitude toward modern Socialism (p. 239). "A scholastic world which once scoffed and smiled at the doctrine, has come to treat it with an attention that varies from the apprehensive to the sympathetic; a practical world has passed from regarding it as the aberration of a few exalted minds recognizing that the theory is that of a militant and conspicuous party." The treatment of modern French Socialism is on the whole much less satisfactory. Although the author gives abundant evidence of having read widely in the writings of the foremost French Socialists she shows a hopeless inability to comprehend them and gives expression to such meaningless phrases as this (p. 259): "Socialism is only philanthropy, armed with a philosophy and a political system calculated to cure all social diseases." Then follows a very foolish "refutation" of Marx and some most startling interpretations of economic determinism. The author makes much of the so-called "integral Socialism," which after all is little more than a refined opportunism. The part of the work where the comparison is drawn from which the book gets its title is more interesting than valuable as it is really an attempt to compare two largely incomparable things. The work is copiously annotated with an exhaustive and most valuable bibliography, which, whatever we may think of the reasoning, makes the book in many ways the most valuable work on French Socialism that has so far appeared in the English language.

The Shrine of Silence. Henry Frank. The Abbey Press. Cloth, uncut edges, 270 pp., \$2.00.

A series of "meditations" on various subjects from an intuitional and idealistic point of view. The author has an exceptional literary style, the book is elaborately decorated with colored initials and the binding is in a very striking combination of black and red on white.

The Law of Socialism. Frank Hathaway. Paper, 28 pp. 10 cents.

An attempt to discuss Socialism on the basis of existing legal ideas and a rather indefinite doctrine of Natural Rights. Contains some good suggestions, but the author was evidently not sufficiently familiar with Socialism to enable him to properly discuss the questions he raises.

A Voice From England. Rev. T. McGrady. Standard Publishing Co. Paper, 44 pp. 10 cents.

This is a reply to Rev. Rickaby's "Socialism, the Crying Evil of the Age," and there is no doubt that the arguments, such as they were, of the opponent of Socialism are thoroughly demolished. One only wonders if the game was really worthy of the heavy artillery that is employed.

Among the Periodicals.

Among the more notable articles in the "World's Work" of interest to Socialists are "Increasing Railroad Consolidation," by M. G. Cuniff, giving the story of the concentration of transportation in the United States and a map of recent movements, and a discussion of "Agriculture Under Cloth," by Arthur Goodrich, describing a movement which may easily work a revolution of no small dimensions in agriculture. "Marconi's Triumph," by George Iles, tells the story of the latest achievements in wireless telegraphy.

The description of a co-operative experiment in grain buying and shipping, which is described in the "Review of Reviews," under the title "A Grain Buyers' Trust: How Kansas Farmers Are Meeting It," by C. H. Matson, contains some most suggestive ideas. The farmers in the neighborhood of Solomon, Kansas, formed a co-operative and within two months after the association had opened its elevator it had handled over 100,000 bushels of wheat, paying its members from seven to nine cents below the Kansas City price, although the normal price was 10 cents below, while the syndicate price was 14 cents below, a clear gain to the farmers of from five to seven cents a bushel." It is too early to determine whether this organization contains within itself the elements of permanence or whether it is simply another of the thousand and one sporadic attempts at local bettermen such as have come and gone in the last generation.

The February number of "The Craftsman" is largely devoted to a discussion of the life and work of Robert Owen, and is a valuable contribution to the history of Socialism. Edwin Markham contributes

an article on "Traces of the Franciscans in California," a discussion of a little known but interesting phase of American social history.

The "Documente des Socialismus" continues to gather valuable historical material for Socialists. The February number contains original documents of August Becker and Frederick Engels, a copy of the first program ever issued by the Russian Social Democrats and the program of the French Social Democrats, which was issued on the eve of the revolution of 1848.

EDITORIAL

American Socialist Literature.

Two great streams, or tendencies, are just at the point of union in the Socialist literature of America. One of these is of native, the other of foreign origin. Because of the greater scientific accuracy of the foreign stream Socialists have been prone to look upon it as the only source of Socialist writing. This portion has been composed either of direct translations from German and French or else has been written by persons strongly under the influence of such translations. Such writings have been scholarly and scholastic, theoretically correct and pedantically expressed, and in general more remarkable for scientific accuracy than ease of comprehension and literary excellence. Judged by any canons of good English, their literary style has been abominable, while their very vocabulary has been to a large extent foreign to the common speech of the people.

Along side of this body of writings has flowed another stream. As if bent on illustrating the truth of the very philosophy he neglected, the American has refused to see the truth of Socialism until his economic development should teach it to him. So it has been that America has produced a vast crop of utopianism, more colony experiments than all other nations put together, and a mass of muddled reform movements that will afford amusement for all future historians. The literature of these various movements, however, has been to a large degree written by men at least much more familiar with American conditions and mode of thought than was possessed by those who wrote the literature of scientific Socialism. They used the vocabulary of the people to whom they were talking and expressed themselves according to the literary standards of the audience they were addressing. Some of the utopian writings, particularly those of Howells, Bellamy and some of the Brook Farm writers have become a part of the classic literature of America.

Lowell once gave expression to the following sentiment, which might well be pondered by some of those who are writing the propaganda literature of Socialism: "In proportion as elegance of form transcends the value of the contained matter does a work gain in perpetuity." Had Henry George not had an infinitely better command of the English language than he had of political economy the Single Tax movement would not have arisen to count one more in the variegated of economic vagaries to be found in the history of America. Even

the wild harangues and incoherent reasonings of much of Populism were expressed in a form that was easily intelligible to the great mass of the populace, and which exactly fell in with the western spirit of brag and bluster and bravado, which, whatever else it does, always does something.

It is often offered as an explanation of the success of semi-Socialistic publications, that it is because they do not preach clear cut Socialism and hence appeal to other than proletarian class interests. To some extent this is undoubtedly true, but to a still larger degree their success is due to the fact that they are written in a style which attracts and holds the attention of those to whom they are addressed. There is no essential contradiction between class-conscious Socialism and a good literary style, but, so far as this country is concerned, a deep-seated antipathy seems to have hitherto existed between them.

But after all, literary style and pedagogic skill cannot take the place of truth and logical reasoning. Economic facts are stubborn things and cannot be forever concealed by the literary drapery of carefully chosen phrases, any more than economic advance could be long blocked by the fervid rhetoric of a Bryan. Steadily society moved forward, crushing out of existence the economic classes interested in the perpetuation of the economic vagaries this rhetoric and literary drapery sought to adorn. Each recurring extension of the frontier by reviving some dying social stage gave these doctrines a new lease of life. But at last the frontier has disappeared, after having made its longest single extension in crossing the prairie states, and in Populism and the Bryan Democracy giving rise to the largest and the last expression of incoherent revolt that has yet appeared in America.

The time is now ready for an indigenous Socialist literature that shall combine the scientific accuracy and philosophic truth of international Socialism with the best literary style, yet which shall be expressed in that native vocabulary, whose use has done so much to popularize utopianism and muddledom. Too long our Socialist writings have been made up by the application of German metaphysics to English economic history with a French vocabulary. So far has this gone that the French and German Socialist writers are at the present time making more use of United States official documents than the American Socialist writers. European scholars are just beginning to recognize what American Socialists should have known for at least a decade, that American history offers the best examples yet discovered of the laws of economic determinism.

The great task of the Socialist writers of this country for the next few years is to interpret American economic life in the language and style which will best appeal to the American people. The writer who will bring a combination of a clear English style and a thorough mastery of the principles of scientific Socialism to bear upon the history and present facts of American life will have earned the eternal gratitude of the workers of the world and have carved for himself a broad and lasting niche in the temple of fame. There is a crying need at this moment for a mass of books, pamphlets and periodical articles, not so much expounding, as applying, the class struggle and economic determinism to the facts and relations of our present society. It is

not, as philanthropic "investigators" tell us, more facts that are needed, so much as the proper presentation and explanation of facts already gathered and easily accessible.

Never was there so rich a mine of information for the Socialist student as is furnished by the history and present society of the United States. Never have economic forces developed so untrammelled by tradition and sentiment. Our children should be furnished with text-books in history that tell the true story of the struggle of economic classes lying back of the Civil war and the war of the Revolution. It must be to the everlasting shame of American Socialist writers that up to the present time the best account of the long fierce crude battle of the American pioneer with his environment, which can be truly explained only in the light of Socialist philosophy, for which it offers such countless illustrations and arguments, has been written by that synthesis of capitalism, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Socialist philosophy of history rests almost wholly upon the comparative method of historical research, and the United States has been the first and last and only country to simultaneously present the essentials of all other previous social stages, and then maintain this possibility of the geographical study of history for more than a century. Socialist pamphlets are still used for propaganda in America, which depend upon the English economic history of a century ago for their illustrations of an Industrial Revolution, while the native American to whom they are handed has in his own life been a part of a much greater revolution than the one there described.

For more than two hundred years the laborers of America have been continuously fleeing ever further toward the West to escape from the capitalist exploitation that has ever hounded them on. Over and over again the son has been driven forth from his home by the society his father helped establish. Ever and again the workers of the West have risen in armed or peaceful revolt against the crushing capitalism that drove them toward the setting sun, but each time it was only to be again conquered and driven still further out into the wilderness or across the trackless prairie. Now these fugitive fighters are at bay. They can flee no further. If they lose the present fight with their hereditary oppressors only death or eternal slavery confronts them. But with the whole country capitalistic, the geographical line of battle becomes a class line running athwart the whole social organization. Here is a far better illustration of the workings of economic determinism and the class struggle than is furnished by the mills of Manchester or the mines of Cornwall.

We have hoped from the foundation of the International Socialist Review that it might help in creating such a literature. We had hoped to receive analyses and descriptions of American social and economic facts illumined by the knowledge of Socialist philosophy. We have received a few contributions of this character, but nothing proportionate to either the demand or the opportunity. The material for a multitude of such articles is ready to the hand of the Socialist writer. No other government has gathered and distributed a tithe of the valuable economic material that has been published by the authorities of this government. Nearly every state is also doing much, of

more or less value, in this line. The capitalists of America realize, if the Socialists do not, the importance of knowing the facts of economic life. So it is that there are actually thousands of volumes filled with Socialist ammunition being gratuitously distributed each year, and yet it is only occasionally that we see any use made of them by Socialists.

Some day there will come a tremendous awakening, and thousands of Socialist investigators, writers and historians will dig down into this arsenal of facts, that capitalism has accumulated and arranged to its own undoing, and will proceed to arm the militant proletariat with the weapons its masters have prepared. It is in the hope of hastening that awakening and speeding the day when these weapons will be made ready that this editorial has been written. If it succeeds in arousing any hitherto dormant literary energies to the service of Socialism or in directing any of those already active into more fruitful fields it will have accomplished its purpose.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The American Farmer.

BY A. M. SIMONS.

This work has been out only about two weeks and the following quotations from letters and reviews that have appeared in this short time will give some idea of the character of the book and the way it is going to go.

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W. J. McFall,
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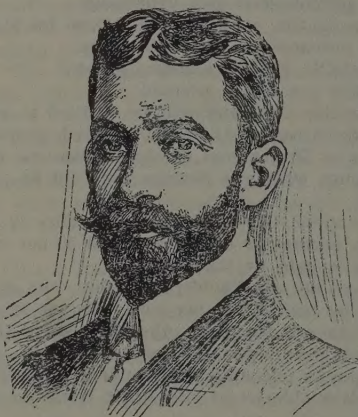
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